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ENGLISH HISTORY ILLUSTRATED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

General Editor: N. L. FRAZER, M.A.
HEADMASTER OF BATLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

1715—1815

BY

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FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD
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WITH ELEVEN PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

THE history of the eighteenth century is so complex, and the contemporary material for its illustration is so abundant, that it is impossible to hope for completeness in this volume. It has seemed advisable to abandon any attempt at continuity, and I have therefore chosen those topics which seemed most important and concentrated on them from different points of view. The result is an abundance of gaps. If the selection seems arbitrary, and the extracts inadequate, it can only be pleaded that, in a task where the choice is so wide, no two persons are likely to agree.

For some omissions a special explanation is needed. Very little reference is made in this volume to the great constitutional facts of the period, notably to the rise of Cabinet Government and the development of the Party System. There seemed to be great difficulties in the way of finding documents which would be at once adequate and concise; and rather than crowd out other things by the insertion of vague references and obscure allusions, I have preferred to leave these important subjects almost unrepresented. The development of the Constitution since 1688, it will be remembered, is more often represented by unwritten 'conventions' rather than by concrete enactments.

I have constantly referred for guidance to Mr. N. L. Frazer, Headmaster of Batley Grammar School, to whom I owe my sincere thanks, both for this and for his permission to reprint the relevant portions of his 'Summary of English History' in this book. To Mr. M. W. Keatinge, Reader in Education in the University of Oxford, I am very grateful for the readiness with which he has allowed me to incorporate in this collection certain documents which he had included in the 'History of England' compiled by himself and Mr. Frazer.

My thanks are also due to the authors and publishers of books, the copyright of which has not yet expired, who have permitted me to reprint extracts. The works from which such extracts have been taken are the following: Moy Thomas, 'Letters of Lady Mary Montague' (George Allen); L. B. Evans, 'Writings of George Washington' (G. B. Putnam); C. Strachey, 'Lord Chesterfield's Letters' (Methuen); the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (Cambridge University Press); A. M. Wilberforce, 'Private Papers of William Wilberforce' (Fisher Unwin); R. B. O'Brien, 'Autobiography of Wolfe Tone' (Fisher Unwin); 'Essay on Lord Castlereagh' (Humphreys); D. A. Bingham, 'Despatches of Napoleon' (Chapman and Hall); and the 'English Historical Review' (Longmans).

BROMSGROVE,
March, 1913.

BRIXTON, S.W.

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(1715-1763)

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INTRODUCTION

1715–1763

With the death of the last of the Stuart Sovereigns, England entered on her 'Georgian' period. There is something about this epithet which hints at a time of humdrum and commonplace existence, and but little more. If the time of the Seven Years' War is excepted, this impression of dull mediocrity is strengthened by a closer examination of the contemporary evidence.

The nation was passing through an unsatisfactory phase. In religion, in social life, in artistic feeling, and in politics alike, the deterioration of the national character which had begun with the Restoration was now at its worst. It was a time of insincerity and of pompous display. Charles II. and George I. reflect the character of their times, each in a striking manner. Their reigns were marked, both alike, by a loosening of all the moral ties and conventions which had bound Puritan England too tightly in the time of Cromwell; but the culture and the wit which accompanied the laxity of the Restoration time were now replaced by a dulness and a pretentious inefficiency which have become proverbial.

That this inefficiency was realized by the greater

men of the time there is abundant evidence. The letters and speeches of men like Chatham, John Wesley, Horace Walpole, Lord Chesterfield, or Bishop Butler, all deal with it in its various aspects. The dissatisfaction of such men was soon to issue in a general reformation, and the beginnings of this change for the better can be traced in these seemingly barren years. The return of national self-respect, and the fervid patriotism which resulted from Pitt's conduct of the Seven Years' War and its glorious victories, find eloquent expression in the correspondence of Horace Walpole and Lord Chesterfield, and the contrast between their letters of 1759 and those which they had written the year before is a remarkable tribute to the genius of Pitt. Then, to the middle of the century, belongs the origin of the Methodist Movement. Contemptuously ignored, not only by the sceptics of polite society, but also by the dignified clerics, of whom many recognized their own shortcomings, against which Wesley was thus protesting, it nevertheless made rapid progress among the lower classes, and it ultimately had on the Church itself some indirect influence, which later and more orthodox 'revivals' were to bring to maturity. To these years, too, must be assigned the first origins of the Industrial Revolution, and that still greater revolution in political thought which was to convulse Europe at the end of the century.

In nothing was the corruption and the inefficiency of the time more manifest than in the politics of the Georgian epoch. To the political immorality which had marred the characters of the statesmen of 1688, there was now added the disturbing element of a

Toryism which seemed to place sentimental loyalty to the Stuarts above the security of the national independence and the national religion. The Hanoverian Georges were thus given no choice of parties from which to choose their Ministers, and the result was the establishment of the Whig party as the only party in power till long after the failure of the '45' had taught the Tories that the Jacobite policy was a hopeless handicap. The Whigs, once in office, proceeded to entrench their position by using their wealth, their patronage, and, in the word which summed up all these instruments of power, their Influence, to secure control of the House of Commons. Having a crushing majority in the House of Lords, with the House of Commons, as the phrase went, 'in their pockets,' and with the monopoly of counselling the King, the 'Whig Oligarchy' was unchallenged. The inevitable result of the absence of an effective Tory opposition was that the party became divided against itself. While Walpole ruled, it was a division into two. On the one hand was the Minister himself, supported by the clients who were not too proud to receive his bribes, and not too clever to incur his jealousy; on the other hand, arrayed against him stood all the talent of the party, supported by the clever invective of Bolingbroke and the Tories, a combination which at last drove him from the office he had retained so long by methods which had demoralized the political system, and were to call forth the movement for Parliamentary Reform. With the fall of Walpole, the Whig division into two parties was replaced by a division into many family cliques. A few great Lords had each a following of relatives,

'pocket borough' Members, tenants and agents, at his absolute control, all of them ready to sell their political honour for some office or pension which would be at the disposal of their patron, should he become Prime Minister. Thus arose the different sections of the party, and the tyranny of Walpole was succeeded by a chaos of rival 'interests,' whether of Rockingham Whigs, or Grenville Whigs, or Devonshire Whigs, whose only merit was their capacity for producing an occasional man of mark out of the ranks of their clients—a Burke, or a Pitt, or a Fox.

In contrast to the general stagnation of the time, foreign relations were full of incident and achievement. The fall of Walpole was the immediate consequence of the outbreak of a war which was, for England, the first of a series of great struggles with France: first for trade and the colonial supremacy of the world, and later for national independence and freedom from the revolutionary danger.

The struggle for empire between England and France was fought out between 1738 and 1763. It is not too much to say that it was, till Pitt cleared men's eyes, a blind struggle. England conquered a world-wide empire almost unawares. She fought in the War of the Austrian Succession with no fixed policy of colonial expansion. To George II., with his Hanoverian interests, England was merely the purse from which he drew his resources to fight a Continental war, and men of the stamp of the Pelhams were far too stupid to see farther than the King. The purely commercial nature of the 'Jenkins' Ear' dispute, and the purely colonial nature of the French aggression in the Ohio Valley, and of the

schemes of Dupleix in India, passed unnoticed by all except the few. Among this minority of intellect was William Pitt, who girded against the Hanover policy, and demanded a colonial policy and a naval strategy. But the reputation of the rising statesman was against him. It was not without reason that Parliament looked askance at one who seemed to have vitiated his ideas and his methods alike by factious opposition and selfish ambition. But there was behind him a popular support which forced him on the Parliament, and eventually on the King himself.

At last, the unhappy disasters which resulted from the mistaken policy of the Ministers led to the combination of Pitt and Newcastle in power. The 'year of victories,' the new spirit in the country, the colonial acquisitions, had hardly been achieved before their lustre was dimmed by the mediocrity to which the Georgian age was doomed. George III. became King, Pitt fell, becoming in his fall again almost commonplace, and a new series of mistakes and disasters began.

BRIXTON S.W.

ENGLISH HISTORY FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

1715—1763

1. The Situation after the Death of Queen Anne.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' B., vi. 285.

Letter from the Bishop of Peterborough to a Friend.

September, 1714.

Dear Sir,

Since my last nothing of moment has happened. . . . All things are quiet, and all persons seem to be under no other impatience but that of expecting the new King. The day of his setting out from Hanover was fixed to Wednesday last. . . .

The French King's rejecting the importunities of the Pretender is an argument of his good faith and great necessity. . . . Stock is very high, and all people in good spirit. None to all appearance more sanguine than they who would be still called Tories. They, forsooth, adhered to the Protestant Succession. They are most forward to go out and meet the King. They, by their principles, have been always for the

Church and the Crown. They are the surest friends of the Prerogative, and, if we believe them, are the majority of the nation, and can command a new Parliament.

The pulpits in and about London have not been so modest as one would have expected at such a juncture. It is certain that Dr. Wells has preached ever since the demise with a *double entendre*, and with an eye directly on another King. Others have so bemoaned the Queen as if Monarchy and the Church had died with her. Nay, some have challenged the faction (as they call them) to tell where is the Pretender, or where is the danger of him! as if his not coming now were an argument that he never meant it.

2. Character of George I.

1714. Lady Mary Montague, 'Letters.'

The King's character may be comprised in very few words. In private life he would have been called an honest blockhead; and Fortune that made him a King added nothing to his happiness, but only prejudiced his honesty and shortened his days. No man was ever more free from ambition; he loved money, but loved to keep his own without being rapacious of other men's. He would have grown rich by saving, but was incapable of laying schemes for getting; he was more properly dull than lazy, and would have been so well contented to have remained in his little town of Hanover that, if the ambition of those about him had not been greater

than his own, we should never have seen him in England, . . . but he was carried by the stream of the people about him in that as in every other action of life. He could speak no English, and was past the age of learning it. Our customs and laws were all mysteries to him, which he neither tried to understand, nor was capable of understanding if he had endeavoured it. He was passively good-natured, and wished all mankind enjoyed quiet, if they would let him do so. . . .

3. The Old Pretender in 1740.

Letter of President des Brosses
('L'Italie il y a Cent Ans,' ii. 93).

The King of England is treated here (*in Rome*) with as much respect as though he were a real reigning Sovereign. . . . It is easy to know him for a Stuart . . . tall and thin, and in his face very like the portraits we have in France of his father James the Second. . . . His dignity of manners is remarkable. I never saw any Prince hold a great assembly so gracefully and so nobly. Yet his life, in general, is very retired, and he only comes for an hour to take part in the festivals, which he gives from time to time, through his sons, to the ladies of Rome. His devotion is excessive; he passes his whole morning in prayers . . . near the tomb of his wife. Of his talents I cannot venture to speak positively, for want of sufficient information; they seem but moderate, yet all his conduct is reasonable, and befitting his condition. . . .

4. The Riot Act, 1715.

'Statutes of the Realm.'

An Act for preventing Tumults and Riotous Assemblies, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing the Rioters.

I. Whereas of late many rebellious Riots and Tumults have been in divers Parts of this Kingdom, to the Disturbance of the Public Peace, and the endangering of his Majesty's Person and Government, and the same are yet continued and fomented by Persons disaffected to his Majesty, presuming so to do, for that the Punishments provided by the Laws now in being are not adequate to such heinous offences . . .: Therefore, . . . be it enacted, . . . That if any Persons to the Number of twelve or more, being unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled together, to the Disturbance of the Public Peace, at any time, . . . and being required or commanded by any Justice, . . . or by the Mayor, Bailiff, or other head-officer, or any Justice of the Peace of any City or Town-corporate, where such Assembly shall be, by Proclamation to be made in the King's Name, in the Form hereinafter directed, to disperse themselves, shall remain, or continue together by the space of one Hour after such Command or Request, that then such continuing together shall be adjudged Felony without Benefit of Clergy.

II. And be it further enacted . . . That the Order and Form of the Proclamations that shall be made by the Authority of this Act shall be as hereafter followeth :

'Our Sovereign Lord the King chargeth and commandeth all Persons, being assembled, to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their Habitations, or to their lawful business, upon the Pains contained in the Act made in the First Year of King George, for preventing Tumults and riotous Assemblies. *God save the King.*'

III. And be it further enacted . . . That if such Persons so unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled . . . shall continue together, and not disperse themselves within one Hour, That then it shall be lawful to and for every Mayor, Justice of the Peace, Sheriff, or Bailiff, High or Petty-constable and other Peace-officer, . . . and to and for such other Person or Persons as shall be commanded to be assisting unto any such Mayor or Justice of the Peace aforesaid (who are hereby authorized and impowered to command all his Majesty's subjects of Age and Ability to be assisting to them therein), to seize and apprehend such persons so continuing together; . . . and that if the Persons . . . shall happen to be killed, maimed, or hurt . . . that then every such Mayor, Justice of the Peace etc. . . . shall be free, discharged and indemnified . . . of, for, or concerning the killing . . . of any such Persons. . . .

5. The Peerage Bill, 1719.

Nicholas Tindal,
'Continuation of Rapin's History.'

. . . The Lords were now debating upon the famous Peerage Bill. This Bill, by which the number of peers was to be limited, is said to have been

chiefly intended to put a restraint upon the Prince of Wales, when his succession should take place, from whom the present Ministry could expect but little favour. Be this as it will, the Whigs had exclaimed against the numerous promotion of peers by Queen Anne, particularly the promotion of twelve peers at once, in order to gain a superiority in the House of Lords; and to prevent the like in the future it was resolved to bring in a Bill to fix the number of peers.

[*Text of the Bill.*]

The Resolutions concerning the English Peers:

I. That the number of Peers of Great Britain, on the part of England, shall not be inlarged . . . beyond six above what they are at present: but, as any of the said present Peers or such six new Peers in case they be created, shall fail, their number may be supplied by new creations of Commoners. . . .

III. That there be not any restraint on the Crown to create any of the Princes of the Blood Peers of Great Britain with right to sit in Parliament.

[*As regards the Scottish Peers, it was proposed to replace the existing sixteen elective Peers by twenty-five hereditary Peers.*]

The Bill was proposed by the Duke of Somerset, and supported by the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Sunderland, its author.

. . . And thereupon his lordship, the Earl of Oxford, excepted against it, and said, 'As it tended to take away the brightest gem from the Crown, it was matter of wonder to see it supported by those who . . . seemed under the greatest obligation to take care of the Royal Prerogative.'

. . . The debate being adjourned to the 2nd of March, upon that day Earl Stanhope delivered to a full House the following message from the King:

'GEORGE R.

'His Majesty being informed that the House of Peers have under consideration the state of the Peerage of Great Britain, is graciously pleased to acquaint this House that he has so much at heart the settling the Peerage upon such a foundation as may secure the freedom and continuation of Parliaments in all future ages that he is willing that his Prerogative stand not in the way of so great and necessary a work.'

. . . Whilst the public was in expectation of the issue of this affair, a sudden stop was put to all further proceedings. Earl Stanhope, when the Bill came to be read the third time, made a speech wherein he observed 'That this Bill had made a great noise, and raised strange apprehensions; and since the design of it had been so misrepresented and so misunderstood that it was like to meet great opposition in the other House, he thought it advisable to let the matter lie still till a more proper opportunity.'

6. THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.

(A.)

Rage for Stock-Jobbing.

Nicholas Tindal,
'Continuation of Rapin's History.'

Money being plenty and the stock-jobbers in good humour, the South Sea Company opened their books

for a third subscription at the rate of £1,000 for every £100 capital stock. . . . But the lists . . . were so full that the directors . . . enlarged the capital to four millions, which at that price amounted to forty millions sterling. And, what is more strange . . . the original stock rose to above £1,000 per cent.

The whole nation was become stock-jobbers. The South Sea was like an infectious distemper, which spread itself in an astonishing manner. Every evening produced new projects, which were justly called bubbles. . . . There were near a hundred different kinds of projects or bubbles; and it was computed that above a million and a half was won and lost by these unwarrantable practices by which many unwary persons were defrauded and impoverished, and a few crafty men enriched. . . . How great the general infatuation and thirst of gain was appears from the following instance: A proposal was offered 'for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is.' The projector formed a scheme for half a million, by which every subscriber, paying down two guineas for subscribing, was to have £100 a year for every £100 so subscribed. . . . As extravagant as this scheme was, the projector in a forenoon received 1,000 subscriptions, with which, amounting to 2,000 guineas, he went off in the afternoon. . . .

(B.)

The After-Effects of the South Sea Mania.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' B., iv. 327.

(*A Letter from the Archbishop of Dublin*).

DUBLIN,
March 23, 1720.

I will say no more to your South Sea, but it has surely made us miserable to the highest degree, if starving be a misery. . . . I was of opinion before that one-third of this city needed charity, but inquiries have assured me that at least one half are in this lamentable state. . . . Most of our gentry and officers, civil and military, are in England. Those that are here cannot get their rents from their tenants. The merchants have no trade; shopkeepers need charity; and the cry of the whole people is loud for bread. . . . We were in a miserable condition in King James's time; but we generally had meat and drink, though with insufferable slavery and oppression: but now we have nothing of those. . . . The gaols are full, not of State prisoners as then, but of debtors. . . .

7. WALPOLE AS A MINISTER.

(A.)

Lord Hervey's Estimate.

Hervey, 'Memoirs,' i. 401.

A Minister now ruled the country who was more anxious to keep his power than to raise his fame, and wisely lived to his present interest, and not to

the embellishment of a page in future story. He knew that palliatives, delays, and gentle methods were the ways to keep power, though active and enterprising steps may sometimes be the means to gain it. . . . He knew, whatever happened, he could be nothing greater than what he was; and in order to remain in that situation, his great maxim in policy was to keep everything else as undisturbed as he could, to bear with some abuses rather than risk reformations, and submit to old inconveniences rather than encourage innovations. . . . This apprehension, long experience and thorough knowledge of this country and this Government had taught him; and in this way of thinking, the unsuccessful deviation he had made from it in the Excise Scheme had now more than ever confirmed him. . . .

Hervey, 'Memoirs,' i. 22.

His abilities in business, and his dexterity in Courts and Parliaments was much superior to his contemporaries. He had a strength of parts equal to any advancement, a spirit to struggle with any difficulties, a steadiness of temper immovable by any disappointments. He had great skill in figures, the nature of the funds, and the revenue; his first application was to this branch of knowledge; but as he afterwards rose to the highest posts of power, and continued longer there than any first Minister in this country since Lord Burleigh ever did, he grew, of course, conversant with all the other parts of government, and very soon equally able in transacting them. The weight of the whole administration lay on him; every project was of his forming, conducting, and

executing; all foreign as well as domestic affairs passed through his hands, and, considering the little assistance he received from subalterns, it is incredible what a variety and quantity of business he dispatched. But as he had infinite application and long experience, so he had great method and a prodigious memory, with a mind and spirit that were indefatigable. . . .

No man ever was blessed with a clearer head, a truer or quicker judgment, or a deeper insight into mankind; he knew the strength and weakness of everybody he had to deal with, and how to make his advantage of both; he had more warmth of affection and friendship for some particular people than one could have believed it possible for anyone who had been so long raking in the dirt of mankind to be capable of feeling for so worthless a species of animals. . . . No man ever knew better among those he had to deal with, who was to be had, on what terms, by what methods, and how the acquisition would answer. He was not one of those projecting, systematical great geniuses who are always thinking in theory, and are above common practice; he had been too long conversant in business not to know that in the fluctuation of human affairs and variety of accidents to which the best concerted schemes are liable, they must often be disappointed who build on the certainty of the most probable events, and therefore seldom turned his thoughts to the provisional warding off future evils, which might or might not happen, or the scheming of remote advantages, but always applied himself to the present occurrence. . . .

(B.)

Burke's Estimate of Walpole.

1792. 'Appeal from New to Old Whigs.'

He was an honourable man, and a sound Whig. He was not, as the Jacobites and discontented Whigs of his own time have represented him, and as ill-informed people still represent him, a prodigal and corrupt Minister. They charged him . . . as having first reduced corruption to a system. Such was their cant. But he was far from governing by corruption. He governed by party attachments. The charge of systematic corruption is less applicable to him, perhaps, than to any Minister who ever served the Crown for so long a time. He gained over very few from the Opposition. Without being a genius of the first class, he was an intelligent, prudent, and safe Minister. He loved peace, and he helped to communicate the same disposition to nations at least as warlike and restless as that in which he had the chief direction of affairs. Though he served a master who loved martial fame, he kept all the establishments very low. The land-tax continued at two shillings in the pound for the greater part of his administration. The other impositions were moderate. The profound repose, the equal liberty, the firm protection of just laws during the long period of his power, were the principal causes of that prosperity . . . which furnished to this nation ability to acquire the military glory which it has since obtained, as well as to bear the burdens, the cause and consequence of that warlike reputation. . . . The prudence, steadi-

ness, and vigilance of that man, joined to the greatest possible lenity in his character and his politics, preserved the crown to this Royal Family, and with it their laws and liberties to this country.

8. Queen Caroline's Support of Walpole.

About 1740. Hervey, 'Memoirs,' i. 61.

Some were of opinion that Sir Robert Walpole's continuance [*in office after the accession of George II., who disliked him and wished to have the Speaker, Sir Spencer Compton, as his first Minister*] was owing merely to the Speaker's want of resolution to displace him. . . . Others think that Sir Robert found means to gain the Queen, by making all his court solely to her, and that he did not weaken his interest with her by adding those two agreeable bribes, of making her jointure just double what had ever been given to a Queen of England before, and persuading the King to make her present establishment £60,000 a year, which would have been £20,000 more than the Speaker had given her. . . .

Whether or no these reasons induced the Queen to make choice of Sir Robert may be disputable, but it is an undoubted fact that she did make choice of him, and that by her influence the King—without getting the better of his dislike to him, at least at first—employed him.

9. The Corruption of Parliament.

Quoted in 'Anecdotes of Chatham,' i. 186 (note).

'An English Minister' to Cardinal Fleury.[1]

I pension half the Parliament to keep it quiet. But as the King's money is not sufficient, they to whom I give none clamour loudly for a war. It would be expedient for Your Eminence to remit me three millions of French livres in order to silence these barkers. Gold is a metal which here corrects all ill qualities in the blood. A pension of £2,000 a year will make the most impetuous warrior in Parliament as tame as a lamb.

10. The Policy of Peace not to be Overdone.

Walpole, 'Some Considerations on the Public Funds,' p. 106 (quoted by Coxe, iii. 328).

To prevent a war, and to take the proper steps that may not only keep us out of the war, but enable us to contribute towards restoring the public tranquillity, is no less desirable, and a conduct no less justifiable than to carry on and support a war we are unhappily engaged in. If, then *paries cum proximus ardet*, it is as advisable to look after ourselves, and to prevent the flames reaching our houses, as it would be to extinguish a fire already kindled; and if to prevent a cold or a fever be easier, safer, and wiser than to cure the distemper, I may venture to maintain that

[1] This letter, whether authentic or not, dates from the time of Walpole.

measures tending to prevent a war, or that are preparatory to the carrying it on, if it becomes unavoidable, are as justifiable and as reasonable as the same measures would be in case of an actual war.

11. Wood's Half-Pence.

1724. Swift, 'Drapier Letters,' No. IV.

To the Whole People of Ireland.

October 23, 1724.

My dear Countrymen,

Having already written three letters upon so disagreeable a subject as Mr. Wood and his half-pence, I conceived my task was at an end . . . but, however, it so happens that some weak people begin to be alarmed anew by rumours industriously spread. Wood prescribes to the newsmongers in London what they are to write. In one of their papers . . . we are told 'That the Papists in Ireland have entered into an association against his coin . . .' so that the two (*Irish*) Houses of Parliament, the Privy Council, the great number of Corporations, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, and the principal gentlemen of several counties, are stigmatized in a lump under the name of Papists.

This impostor and his crew do likewise give out that, by refusing to receive his dross for sterling, we 'dispute the King's Prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, and ready to shake off the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of England.' To countenance which reports he has published a paragraph in another newspaper, to let us know that 'the Lord

Lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to settle his half-pence. . . .'

But let us take the whole matter nakedly as it lies before us, without the refinements of some people with which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent, signed under the Great Seal of England, upon false suggestions to one William Wood, for coining copper half-pence for Ireland. The Parliament here, upon apprehensions of the worst consequences from the said patent, address the King to have it recalled. This is refused, and a Committee of the Privy Council report to His Majesty that Wood has performed the conditions of his patent. He then is left to do the best he can with his half-pence, no man being obliged to receive them; the people here, being likewise left to themselves, unite as one man, resolving they will have nothing to do with his ware. By this plain account of the fact it is manifest that the King and his Ministry are wholly out of the case, and the matter is left to be disputed between him and us. Will any man, therefore, attempt to persuade me that a Lord Lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great haste . . . merely to put a hundred thousand pounds into the pocket of a sharper, by the ruin of a most loyal kingdom?

12. Character of George II.

About 1760. Horace Walpole,
'Memoirs of George II.,' ii. 454.

His faults were more the blemishes of a private man than of a King. The affection and tenderness he invariably showed to a people [*i.e. Hanover*] over whom he had unbounded rule, forbid our wondering

that he used circumscribed power with moderation. Often situated in humiliating circumstances, his resentments seldom operated when the power of revenge returned. He bore the ascendant of his Ministers, who seldom were his favourites, with patience. . . . Content to bargain for the gratification of his two predominant passions, Hanover and money, he was almost indifferent to the rest of his royal authority, provided exterior observance was not wanting. . . . Yet he was not so totally careless of the affection and interests of this country as his father had been.

13. The Excise Bill.

(A.)

About 1740. Hervey, 'Memoirs,' i. 175.

At the same time many pamphlets were written and dispersed in the country, setting forth the dangerous consequences of extending the Excise Laws, and increasing the number of Excise officers; showing the infringement of the one on liberty, and the influence the other must necessarily give the Crown in elections. And so universally were these terrors scattered through the nation, and so artfully were they instilled into the minds of the people, that this project, which in reality was nothing more than a mutation of two taxes from Customs to Excise, with an addition of only one hundred and twenty-six officers in all England for the collection of it, was so represented to the country, and so understood by the multitude, that there was hardly a town in England, where nine parts in ten of the inhabitants did not

believe that this project was to establish a general excise, and that everything they ate or wore was to be taxed; that a colony of Excise officers was to be settled in every village in the kingdom, and that they were to have a power to enter all houses at all hours; that every place and every person was to be liable to their search, and that such immense sums of money were to be raised by this project that the Crown would no longer be under the necessity of calling Parliaments for annual grants to support the Government, but be able to provide for itself for the most part; and whenever it wanted any extraordinary supplies, that the Excise officers, by their power, would be able at any time to choose just such a Parliament as the Crown should nominate and direct.

The effect these suggestions, inculcated and believed, must have on the minds of a people, jealous of their liberties, susceptible of impressions, and prone to clamour, is easy to conceive. Every alarm sounded by the faction in London came reverberated by a thousand echoes from every part of the country; the whole nation was in a flame, and fresh fuel was constantly supplied by those who first kindled it to keep it blazing. . . . The people would neither hear arguments, examine facts, nor believe demonstration; and the universal cry of the kingdom was, 'No slavery—no excise—no wooden shoes!'

(B.)

From a pamphlet, 'Animadversions on Excise,' London, 1733.

. . . I think it not necessary to enhance the detestation a free people must necessarily have for

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE (1676-1745).

a project which may prove so destructive of their liberties, and will at once deprive so many of His Majesty's loyal subjects of the immunities stipulated for them by Magna Carta, that great title-deed of our liberties. . . .

(C.)

From Dr. Johnson's Dictionary (edition of 1755).

Excise: A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged, not by common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid.

(D.)

From a political ballad, by William Pulteney, 'Britannia Excisa,' 1733.

I.

Ye knaves and ye fools, ye maids, widows and wives
Come, cast away care and rejoice all your lives;
For, since England was England, I dare boldly say
There ne'er was such cause for a Thanksgiving Day.
For if we're but wise,
And vote for excise,
Sir Bluestring[1] declares (and you know he ne'er lies)
He'll dismiss the whole Custom House rascally crew
And fix in each town an Exciseman or two.

* * * * *

[1] Sir Robert Walpole, though a commoner, was made a Knight of the Garter, and the 'blue riband' here alluded to was the insignia of that order.

III.

Who would think it a hardship that men so polite
Should enter their houses by day or by night,
To poke in each hole and examine their stock,
From the cask of right Nantz to their wives' Holland smock?
He's as cross as the devil
Who censures as evil
A visit so courteous, so kind, and so civil;
For to sleep in our beds without their permit
Were, in a free country, a thing most unfit.

* * * * *

VIII.

Moreover, this project, if right understood,
Will produce to the nation abundance of good;
In coffee and tea how our trade is increased,
If not the fair dealers', the smugglers', at least!
Civil List 'twill amend by fining false friend,
And the nation's true 'sinking fund' prove in the end;
South Sea and India and Bank never fear,
Your security's certain for more than one year.

* * * * *

For if we're but wise, and vote for excise,
Sir Bluestring declares (and you know he ne'er lies)
The merchants and tradesmen, if his project but take,
Shall have their free choice to HANG, DROWN, or BREAK.

14. The War of Jenkins' Ear.

(A.)

1736. Home Office Records, Admiralty, quoted by J. K. Laughton in *English Historical Review*, 1889.

[*That the story of Jenkins' ear was not a fable is proved by the following letter from Rear-Admiral Charles Stewart, Commander-in-Chief at Jamaica, to the Spanish Governor of Havana*]:

'I was in hopes that you would have made use of your power to have detected and discouraged the violence and villanies which has for a long time been practised by those whom you distinguish by the name of Guarda Costas; but as you don't take the least notice to answer that part of my letter, and . . . as you allow vessels to be fitted out in your harbour, particularly one *Fandino* and others, who have committed the most cruel piratical outrages on several ships of the King my master's subjects, and particularly about 20th April last one sailed out of your harbour in one of those Guarda Costas, and met a ship of this island bound for England; and after using the captain in a most barbarous inhuman manner, taking all his money, cutting off one of his ears, plundering him of those necessaries which were to carry the ship safe home . . . the King my master . . . is determined . . . to put a stop to these piratical proceedings.'

(B.)

Walpole seeks to avoid War by Negotiation.

1738. *'The Negotiators.'*

Our merchants and tars a strange pother have made
With losses sustained in their ships and their trade,
But now they may laugh, and quite banish their fears,
Nor mourn for lost liberty, riches, or *ears:*
Since Bluestring the Great
To better their fate
Once more has determined he'll negotiate,
And swears the proud Don, whom he dares not to fight,
Shall submit to his logic, and do 'em all right.

15. THE 'FORTY-FIVE.'

Quoted in
Mahon, 'History of England,'
vol. iii., Appendix, p. lxxi.

(A.)

Mr. Bradken to Sir E. Fawkener.

1745. WARRINGTON,
December 4, 1745

SIR,

I have been trying to pass by the rebel army ever since Friday last, in order to bring His Royal Highness what accounts and intelligence I had, as well as my own observations on the force, etc., of it.

As I live in Lancaster, and was there while the rebels passed wholly through, I apprehend my account of them may be of use, and I hope it will contribute

to their total overthrow. . . . I knew all their goings on in the year 1715, and have been used to see large armies abroad, so that I made my calculations without any hurry of spirits or surprise, and I am satisfied that their foot is not 5,000, one-third of which are sixty years of age and upwards and under seventeen.

As to their horse, they were counted by me in coming in and going out, with little variation, and I make them 624, but scarce such as are fit to be called horse; they are so out of order and slender-shaped.

The common soldiers are a most despicable crew, being in general low in stature, and of a wan and meagre countenance, stepping along under their arms with difficulty, and what they are about seems more of force than inclination. I believe one might single out about 1,000 fresh-looking fellows amongst their officers and soldiers: the first, I find, are of desperate fortunes in general, and might as well be shot or hanged as go back. There are several very old fellows who were at the battle of Sheriffmuir, in the last rebellion, and have brought their sons and grandsons along with them now; so you will judge what kind of a show they must make. . . .

While they were at Lancaster, I happened to sup with their Duke of Athol, whom I knew in France, after he went off with the Pretender. There were at supper two Scotchmen . . . and three other young gentlemen. . . . What I observed by their discourse was, that they designed to push for London with all speed, but did not themselves know the route. The Marquis of Tullibardine went so far as saying, it would be time for Don George to march off very

soon. I observed also that they magnified their numbers exceedingly, and told confounded lies about their proceedings. . . .

As I came from Lancaster hither, I secured several of the straggling rebels . . . and sent them to our gaol. . . . Upon one of the fellows . . . I seized fifty-two letters, all dated 27th November, the day they left Preston. . . . The letters were opened . . . and those from the great ones mention their full expectations that their King and Duke will be at London before this army, which they say gives them uneasiness. Other letters tell their friends in Scotland that their army now consists of 24,000 men, and that neither dike, ditch, nor devil can turn them; but I hope these are no true prophets. . . .

Their Chief is 5 foot 11 inches high, pretty strong and well-built, has a brown complexion, full cheeks, and thickish lips that stand out a little. He looks more of the Polish than the Scotch breed, for he is nothing like the King they call his grandfather. He looks very much dejected, not a smile being seen in all his looks. . . .

(B.)

The Young Pretender in 1770.

'Letters from Italy by an Englishwoman,' ii. 198,
quoted by Mahon, iii. 352.

The Pretender is naturally above the middle size, but stoops excessively; he appears bloated and red in the face; his countenance heavy and sleepy, which is attributed to his having given in to excess of drinking; but when a young man he must have

been esteemed handsome. His complexion is of the fair tint, his eyes blue, his hair light brown, and the contour of his face a long oval; he is by no means thin, has a noble person, and a graceful manner. His dress was scarlet, laced with broad gold lace; he wears the blue riband outside of his coat, from which depends a cameo, antique, as large as the palm of my hand; and he wears the same Garter and motto as those of the noble Order of St. George in England. Upon the whole, he has a melancholy, mortified appearance.

16. Pitt in Opposition.

(A.)

Pitt on the Connection with Hanover.

1742. 'Parliamentary History.'

It is now too apparent that this powerful, this great, this mighty nation is considered only as a province to a despicable electorate, and that in consequence of a plan formed long ago and invariably pursued, these [*Hanoverian*] troops are hired only to drain us of our money. . . . How much reason the transactions of almost every year have given for suspecting this absurd, ungrateful, and perfidious partiality, it is not necessary to declare. . . . To dwell upon all the instances of partiality which have been shown, and the yearly visits which have been paid to that delightful country [*Hanover*], to reckon up all the sums that have been spent to aggrandize and enrich it, would be an irksome and invidious task—invidious to those

who are afraid to be told the truth, and irksome to those who are unwilling to hear of the dishonour and injuries of their country. I shall, however, dwell no longer on this unpleasing subject than to express my hope that we shall no longer suffer ourselves to be deceived and oppressed.

(B.)

Pitt and an Increased Navy.

Horace Walpole,
'Memoirs of George II.'

November, 1755.—The same day, Mr. Ellis having moved for 50,000 seamen, and saying that in peace we have but a fund of 40,000 sailors . . . Pitt rose and said he shuddered at hearing that our resources for the sea service were so narrowed. . . . He remembered the former fatal reduction (in 1751): he had stated the danger then. . . . There never was a noble country so perniciously neglected, so undone by the silly pride of one man [*Newcastle*], or the timidity of his colleagues. That this must one day be answered for, unless a fatal catastrophe from our hereditary enemy overtakes us. . . .

(C.)

Pitt on the Incompetence of the Ministers, 1756.

'Parliamentary History,'
March 30, 1756.

I don't call this an Administration; it is so unsteady. One is at the head of the Treasury; one, Chancellor; one, head of the Navy; one great person, of the Army. But is that an Administration? They shift and shuffle the charge from one to another.

One says, 'I am not the General'; the Treasury says, 'I am not the Admiral'; the Admiralty says, 'I am not the Minister.' From such an unaccording assemblage of separate and distinct powers with no system, a nullity results. One, two, three, four, five lords meet. If they cannot agree, 'Oh, we will meet again on Saturday!' 'Oh!' but says one of them, 'I am to go out of town.' Alas! when no parties survive to thwart them, what an aggravation it is that no good comes from such unanimity!

(D.)

Pitt in Opposition.

'The Unembarrassed Countenance' (1746).

At first he seem'd modest and wondrous wise,
He flattered all others in order to rise,
Till out of compassion he got a small place,

* * * * *

He bellowed and roar'd at the troops of Hanover,
And swore they were rascals who ever went over,
That no man was honest who gave them a vote,
And all that were for them should hang by the throat.

He always affected to make the house ring
'Gainst Hanover troops and a Hanover K . . g;
He applauded the way to keep Englishmen free,
By digging Hanover quite into the sea.

By flaming so loudly he got him a name,
Though many believed it would cost him a shame;
But Nature had given him, ne'er to be harass'd,
An unfeeling heart and a front unembarrass'd.

(E.)

Horace Walpole's View.

Horace Walpole, 'Letters,' 1745.

Yesterday they [*the Ministry*] had another baiting from Pitt, who is ravenous for the place of Secretary at War. They would give it him, but as a preliminary he insists on a declaration of our having nothing to do with the Continent. . . . The motion was to augment our naval force, which, Pitt said, was the only method of putting an end to the rebellion. Ships built a year hence to suppress an army of Highlanders now marching through England! . . . Upon the question Pitt's party amounted to but thirty-six—in short, he has nothing but his words, and his haughtiness, and his Lyttletons, and his Grenvilles.

(F.)

King George II.'s Antipathy.

1755 Horace Walpole, 'Memoirs of George II.'

[*From a conversation of the King with the Duke of Newcastle.*]

They [*Mr. Fox and his friends*] are not like those puppies who are always changing their minds. Those are your Pitts and your Grenvilles, whom you have cried up to me so much! You know I never liked them. . . . They are the most troublesome, impracticable fellows I ever met with; there is no carrying on the measures of Government with them.

17. Pitt as an Orator.

(A.)

Grattan's Reminiscences.

'Life of Grattan,' i. 254.

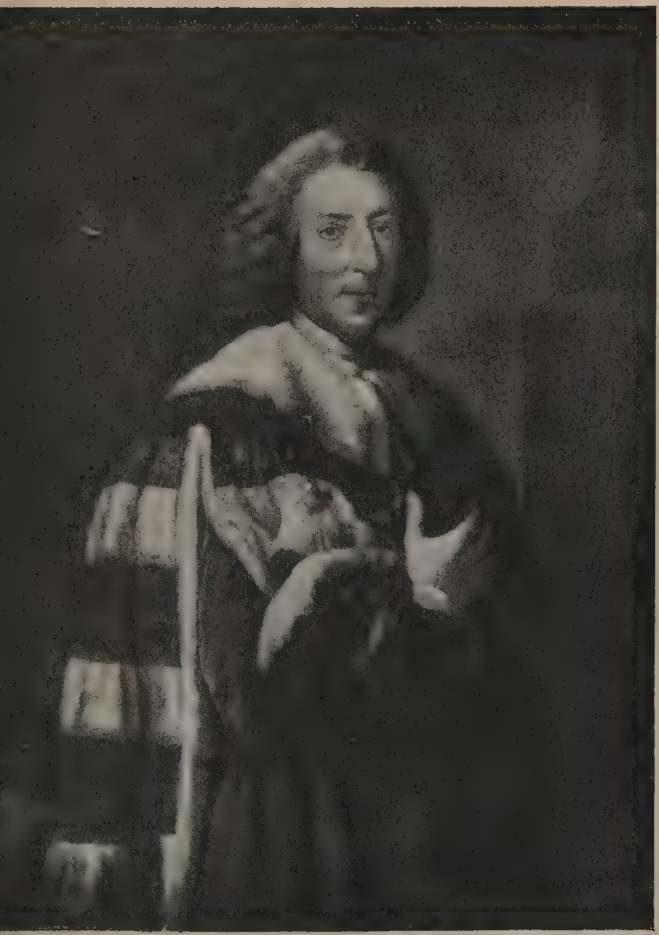
He was a man of great genius, great flight of mind. His imagination was astonishing. . . . He was very great and very odd. He spoke in a style of conversation, not, however, what I expected. It was not a speech, for he never came with a prepared harangue. His style was not regular oratory, like Cicero or Demosthenes, but it was very fine and very elevated, and above the ordinary subjects of discourse. . . . His gesture was always graceful. He was an incomparable actor; had it not been so he would have appeared ridiculous. . . . His tones were remarkably pleasing. I recollect his pronouncing one word, 'effete,' in a soft, charming accent. His son could not have pronounced it better. . . . His manner was dramatic. In this it was said that he was too much the mountebank; but if so, it was a great mountebank. Perhaps he was not so good a debater as his son, but he was a much better orator, a better scholar, and a far greater mind. Great subjects, great empires, great characters, effulgent ideas, and classical illustrations, formed the material of his speeches.

(B.)

John Wilkes on the Eloquence of Pitt.

'Anecdotes of Chatham,' iii. 362.

He was born an orator, and from Nature possessed every outward requisite to bespeak respect, and even



Emery Walker.

WILLIAM PITT, FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM (1708-1778).

the painting by Richard Brompton in the National Portrait Gallery, London.)

awe. A manly figure, with the eagle eye of the famous Condé, fixed your attention, and almost commanded reverence the moment he appeared; and the keen lightning of his eye spoke the high respect of his soul, before his lips had pronounced a syllable. There was a kind of fascination in his look when he eyed anyone askance. Nothing could withstand the force of that contagion. The fluent Murray has faultered, and even Fox shrunk back appalled from an adversary 'fraught with fire unquenchable,' if I may borrow the expression of our great Milton. He had not the correctness of language so striking in the great Roman orator, but he had the *verba ardentia*, the bold glowing words.

(C.)

Horace Walpole's Account of a Debate.

1755. Horace Walpole, 'Letters.'

Pitt surpassed himself, and then I need not tell you that he surpassed Cicero and Demosthenes. What a figure would they, with their formal, laboured, cabinet orations, make *vis-à-vis* his manly vivacity and dashing eloquence at one o'clock in the morning, after sitting in that heat for eleven hours! He spoke above an hour and a half with scarce a bad sentence. . . .

* * * * *

His antagonists endeavour to disarm him, but as fast as they deprive him of one weapon, he finds a better. I never suspected him of such an universal armoury; I knew he had a Gorgon's head, composed of bayonets and pistols, but little thought that he

could tickle to death with a feather. On the first debate on these famous treaties, Hume Campbell, whom the Duke of Newcastle had retained as the most abusive counsel he could find against Pitt, attacked him. Oh! since the last philippic of Billingsgate memory you never heard such an invective as Pitt returned—Hume Campbell was annihilated! Pitt, like an angry wasp, seems to have left his sting in the wound, and has since assumed a style of delicate ridicule and repartee. But think how charming a ridicule must that be that lasts and rises, flash after flash, for an hour and a half!

18. Origin of the Seven Years' War.

Horace Walpole,
'Memoirs of the Reign of George II.'

March, 1754. — The halcyon days of the new Administration soon began to be overcast by foreign clouds. The pacific genius of the house of Pelham was not unknown to France, and fell in very conveniently with their plan of extensive empire. They had yielded to a peace with us only to recover breath; yet even in the short term lapsed since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they had not been unactive. Complaisance in Europe was to cover encroachments in both Indies. Mr. Pelham was willing to be the dupe. If the nation demanded no redress, he would neither propose nor seek it. Redress could be procured but by arms; armaments must be furnished by money; money to be raised might create murmurs; opposition might ensue. Were national

honour or interest worth hazarding that? . . . In the East Indies we had lost Madras in the late war; and since the peace, under pretence of the two nations engaging on different sides in support of contending Nabobs, hostilities had continued with varying success. . . . Their attempts in America grew daily more open, more avowed, more alarming—indeed extended to nothing less than, by erecting a chain of garrisons from Canada to the mouths of the Mississippi, to back all our settlements, cut off our communication with the Indians west of that river, and inclose and starve our universal plantations and trade. . . . What facilitated the enterprises of the French was the extreme ignorance in which the English Court had kept themselves of the affairs of America.

19. Braddock's Defeat.

L. B. Evans, 'Writings of George Washington,' p. 3.

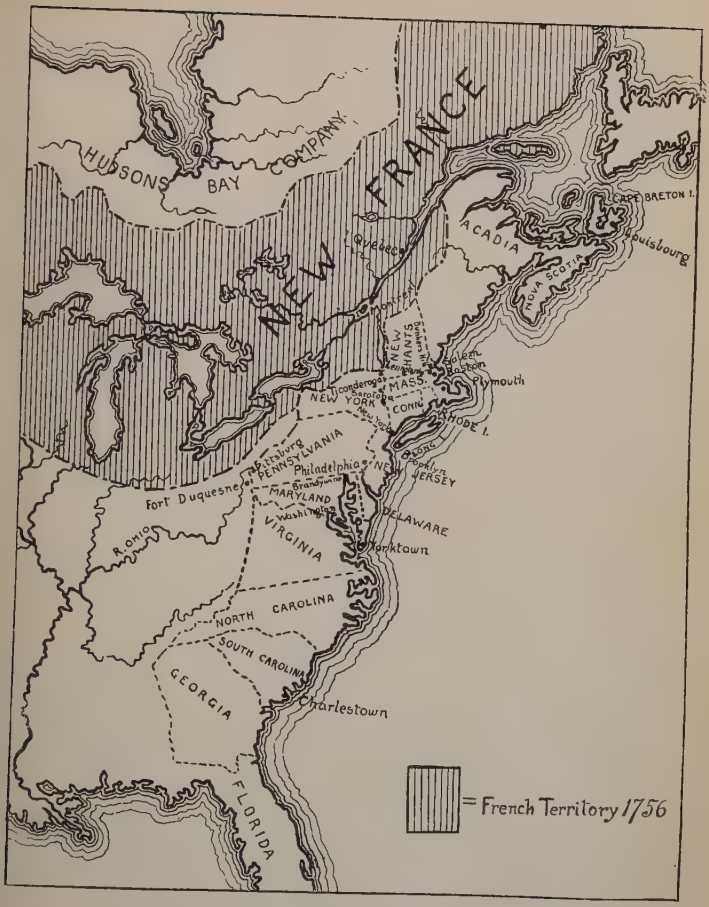
Washington to Governor Dinwiddie.

1755. Fort Cumberland,
July 18, 1755.

Honourable Sir,

As I am favoured with an opportunity, I should think myself inexcusable was I to omit giving you some account of our late engagement with the French on the Monongahela, the 9th instant.

We continued our march from Fort Cumberland to Frazier's (which is within seven miles of Duquesne) without meeting any extraordinary event, having only a straggler or two picked up by the French Indians. When we came to this place, we were attacked (very



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR AND THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

[Notice that the real point at issue in America before the Seven Years' War was whether the French were to hold the valley of the Ohio and so practically drive the English into the sea.]

unexpectedly) by about three hundred French and Indians. Our numbers consisted of about thirteen hundred well-armed men, chiefly regulars, who were immediately struck with such an inconceivable panick, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers, in general, behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered, there being near sixty killed and wounded—a large proportion out of the number we had.

The Virginia companies behaved like men, and died like soldiers; for I believe that out of three companies that were on the ground that day scarce thirty were left alive. . . . In short, the dastardly behaviour of the regular troops (so-called) exposed those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death, and, at length, in despite of every effort to the contrary, broke and ran as sheep before hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, and, in short, everything a prey to the enemy. And when we endeavoured to rally them, in hopes of regaining the ground and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to have stopped the wild bears of the mountains or rivulets with our feet; for they would break by in despite of every effort that could be made to prevent it.

The General [*Braddock*] was wounded in the shoulder and breast, of which he died three days after. . . . It is supposed we had three hundred or more killed; about that number we brought off wounded, and it is conjectured (I believe with much truth) that two-thirds of both received their shot

from our own cowardly regulars, who gathered themselves into a body, contrary to orders, ten or twelve deep, would then level, fire, and shoot down the men before them.

I tremble at the consequences that this defeat may have upon our back settlers, who, I suppose, will all leave their habitations unless there are proper measures taken for their security. . . .

20. The Loss of Minorca.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' Second Series, vol. iv., p. 382 (London, 1827).

Lord Barrington (Secretary at War) to Mr. Mitchell (Ambassador at Berlin).

1756. Cavendish Square, *June* 24, 1756.

Admiral Byng's despatches arrived yesterday, and acquaint us with the particulars of the action, which happened on May 19. It consisted only in a cannonading of four hours, the French avoiding a close engagement. Their ships were cleaner and went better than ours, and they were under sail the whole time. At night, the French separated entirely from our squadron, and were not to be seen the next day, though we *lay to* in the place where the action had happened: so the field of battle was ours. . . . Mr. Byng remained off Mahon (though at some leagues distant from it) till the 25th, and then—you will be filled with astonishment and indignation when you hear it—returned to Gibraltar without renewing the fight, though he once perceived the enemy from

the topmast head; without landing or attempting to land any succours, without even trying to send a letter to General Blakeney, or knowing more of the island he was sent to defend, than that the King's colours still appeared in St. Phillips. By this retreat, the beaten and inferior fleet of France remained master of those seas, and was enabled to throw whatever their army wanted into the island. The English squadron was less damaged than the French, superior in number of ships of the line, still more superior in number of guns, weight of metal, and strength of ships, but most of all in seamen. By this time you have concluded that our Admiral was mad, and you have blamed his officers for not confining him. Alas! they were as infatuated as their chief, for the retreat was made in consequence of a council of war, which unanimously advised the return to Gibraltar for reasons which I am ashamed even to repeat.

21. A Year of Disgrace, 1757.

(A.)

Horace Walpole, 'Letters.'

September 29, 1757.

For how many years have I been telling you that your country was mad, that your country was undone? It does not grow wiser, it does not grow more prosperous. You can scarce have recovered from your astonishment at the suspension of arms [*the Convention of Closterseven*] concluded near Stade. How do you behave on these lamentable occasions? Oh! believe me, it is comfortable to have an island to hide one's head in!

October 12, 1757.

There you are blushing again for your country! We have often behaved extravagantly, and often shamefully—this time we have united both. I think I will not read a newspaper this month, till the French have vented all their mirth. If I had told you two months ago that this magnificent expedition was designed against Rochefort, would you have believed me? Yet we are strangely angry that we have not taken it! The clamour against Sir John Mordaunt is at high-water mark. . . . It seems to me that we do nothing but expose ourselves in summer, in order to furnish inquiries for the winter.

(B.)

Lord Chesterfield, 'Letters.'

BLACKHEATH,
October 10, 1757.

It is not without some difficulty that I snatch this moment of leisure to inform you of the present lamentable and astonishing state of affairs here. . . . Our invincible armada sailed, as you know, some weeks ago; the object kept an inviolable secret; conjectures various and expectations great. Brest was perhaps to be taken, but Martinico and St. Domingo, at least. When lo! the important island of Aix was taken without resistance. . . . From thence we sailed towards Rochefort, which, it seems, was our main object; and, consequently, one should have supposed that we had pilots on board who knew all the soundings and landing-places there and thereabouts; but no, for General Mordaunt asked the Admiral [*Hawke*] if he could land him and the troops

near Rochefort? The Admiral said, 'With great ease.' To which the General replied, 'But can you take us on board again?' To which the Admiral answered, 'That, like all naval operations, will depend on the wind.' 'If so,' said the General, 'I'll e'en go home again. . . .' Accordingly they are returned.

As the expectations of the whole nation had been raised to the highest pitch, the universal disappointment and indignation have arisen in proportion; and I question whether the ferment of men's minds was ever greater. Suspicions, you may be sure, are various and endless, but the most prevailing one is that the tail of the Hanover neutrality [*the Convention of Closterseven*], like that of a comet, extended itself to Rochefort. . . . The whole together makes up a mass of discontent, resentment, and even fury, greater than perhaps was ever known in this country before. These are the facts, draw your own conclusions from them; for my part I am lost in astonishment and conjectures, and do not know where to fix. . . . What a disgraceful year will this be in the annals of this country! May its good genius, if ever it appears again, tear out those sheets thus stained and blotted by our ignominy.

BATH,
November 4, 1757.

This winter, I take it, must produce a peace of some kind or another; a bad one for us, no doubt, and yet perhaps better than we should get the year after. I suppose the King of Prussia is negotiating with France, and endeavouring by those means to get out of the scrape with the loss only of Silesia, and

perhaps Halberstadt by way of indemnification to Saxony, and, considering all circumstances, he would be well off on those terms. But, then . . . will France have been at all this expense *gratis?* . . . Must we give up whatever the French please to desire in America, besides the cession of Minorca in perpetuity. I fear we must, or else raise twelve millions more next year to as little purpose as we did this, and have, consequently, a worse peace afterwards. I turn my eyes away, as much as I can, from this miserable prospect, but, as a citizen and member of society, it recurs to my imagination. . . . I can do myself nor my country no good, but I feel the wretched situation of both; the state of the latter makes me better bear that of the former, and when I am called away from my station here, I shall think it rather (as Cicero says of Crassus) 'mors donata quam vita erepta.'

22. The Execution of Admiral Byng.

(A.)

Horace Walpole, 'Letters.'

Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann.

1757. *March* 17, 1757.

Admiral Byng's tragedy was completed on Monday —a perfect tragedy, for there were variety of incidents, villainy, murder, and a hero! His sufferings, persecutions, aspersions, disturbances—nay, the revolutions of his fate, had not in the least unhinged his mind; his whole behaviour was natural and firm. A few days before one of his friends standing by him

said: 'Which of us is tallest?' He replied, 'Why this ceremony? I know what it means, let the man come and measure me for my coffin.' He said that, being acquitted, and being persuaded on the coolest reflection that he had acted for the best, and should act so again, he was not unwilling to suffer. He desired to be shot on the quarter-deck, not where common malefactors are; came out at twelve, sat down in a chair, for he would not kneel, and refused to have his face covered that his countenance might show whether he feared death; but being told that it might frighten his executioners, he submitted, gave the signal at once, . . . and fell. Do cowards live or die thus?

(B.)

Voltaire on the Execution of Admiral Byng.

Voltaire, 'Candide.'

Dans ce pays-ci il est bon de tuer de temps en temps un amiral pour encourager les autres.

23. Politics in England in 1757.

Horace Walpole, 'Letters.'

November 13, 1756.

Mr. Pitt accepts the Southern Province [*Secretary of State*]. . . . I don't know what calm you may suppose this will produce—I should think little; for, though the Duke of Newcastle resigned on Thursday and Mr. Fox resigns to-day, the chief friends of each remain in place, and Mr. Pitt accedes with so little strength that his success seems very precarious. If he Hanoverizes or checks any inquiries, he loses his popularity, and falls that way; if he humours the

present rage of the people, he provokes powerful factions. His only chance seems to depend on joining with the Duke of Newcastle, who is most offended with Fox; but after Pitt's personal inclusion of his Grace, and, considering Pitt's small force, it may not be easy for him to be accepted there. I foresee nothing but confusion.

[*Pitt was dismissed from office April 7, 1757, but eventually a Ministry was constructed containing all three—Newcastle, Pitt, and Fox.*]

June 20, 1757.

I renounce all prophesying; I will never suppose that I can foresee politically. I can foresee nothing, whatever I may foretell. Here is a Ministry formed of all the people, who for these ten weeks have been giving each other exclusion! I will not venture even to pronounce that they cannot agree together. On Saturday last Lord Hardwicke carried to Kensington the result of the last negotiations between Newcastle and Pitt, and the latter followed and actually kissed hands again for the seals [*as Secretary of State*]. Here is the arrangement as far as I know it, the most extraordinary part of which is that they suffer Mr. Fox to be Paymaster—oh! no, it is more extraordinary that he will submit to be so.

24. The Pitt-Newcastle Administration.

(A.)

Horace Walpole, 'Letters.'

November 27, 1758.

Mr. Pitt is absolute master, and if he can coin twenty millions may command them. He *does*

everything, the Duke of Newcastle *gives* everything. As long as they can agree in this partition, they may do what they will.

(B.)

Horace Walpole on Pitt as a Minister.

1763. Horace Walpole, 'Memoirs of George II.,' ii. 346.

Mr. Pitt, on entering upon administration, had found the nation at the lowest ebb in point of power and reputation. His predecessors, now his coadjutors, wanted genius, spirit, and system. The fleet had many able officers; but the army, which since the resignation of the Duke of Cumberland had lost sight of discipline, was destitute of generals. France, who meaned to be feared, was feared heartily; and the heavy debt of the nation, which was above fourscore millions, served as an excuse to . . . preach up our impossibility of making an effectual stand. . . .

Pitt roused us from this ignoble lethargy; he had asserted that our resources were still prodigious—he found them so in the intrepidity of our troops and navies—but he went farther, and perhaps too far. He staked our revenues with as little management as he played with the lives of the subjects; and, as if we could never have another war to wage, or as if he meant that his administration should decide which alone should exist as a nation, Britain or France, he lavished the last treasures of this country with a prodigality beyond example; yet even that profusion was not so blameable as his negligence. Ignorant of the whole circle of finance, . . . he kept

aloof from all details, drew magnificent plans, and left others to find the magnificent means. . . .

The admirers of Mr. Pitt extoll the reverberation he gave to our councils, the despondence he banished, the spirit he infused, the conquests he made, the security he affixed to our trade and plantations, the humiliation of France, the glory of Britain carried, under his administration, to a pitch at which it never had arrived—and all this is exactly true. . . . All this was done—but might have been done for many millions less. The next war will state this objection more fully. . . .

Pitt was now [1758] arrived at undisturbed possession of that influence in affairs at which his ambition had aimed, and which his presumption had made him flatter himself he could exert like those men of superior genius whose talents have been called forth by some crisis to retrieve a sinking nation. He had said the last year to the Duke of Devonshire, 'My lord, I am sure I can save this country and nobody else can.' It were ingratitude to him to say that he did not give such a reverberation to our stagnating councils as exceedingly altered the appearance of our fortune. He warded off the evil hour that seemed approaching; he infused vigour into our arms; he taught the nation to speak again as England used to speak to foreign powers; and so far from dreading invasions from France, he affected to turn us into invaders. . . .

Pitt's was an unfinished greatness. Considering how much of it depended on his words, one may almost call his an artificial greatness; but his passion for fame and the grandeur of his ideas compensated

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for his defects. He aspired to redeem the honour of his country, and to place it in a point of giving law to nations.

(C.)

Lord Chesterfield on Pitt.

Quoted in
'Anecdotes of Chatham,' iii. 376.

Mr. Pitt owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom singly to his own abilities. In him they supplied the want of birth and fortune, which latter, in others, too often supply the want of the former. He was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune was only an annuity of £100 a year.

His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbid him the idle dissipations, of youth; for as early as at the age of sixteen he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leisure which that tedious and painful distemper either procured or allowed him in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge. . . . His private life was stained by no vice, nor sullied by any meanness. All his sentiments were liberal and elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great abilities and crowned with great success, make what the world calls a Great Man.

He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing—qualities which too often accompany, but always clog, great ones. . . .

He came young into Parliament, and upon that great theatre he soon equalled the oldest and the

ablest actors. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative, as well as the declamatory, way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and such dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over theirs.

(D.)

Frederick the Great on Pitt.

Quoted in
'Anecdotes of Chatham,' iii. 370.

In the autumn of 1757 a change had been effected in the British Ministry: Mr. Fox was succeeded by Mr. Pitt, whose lofty genius and persuasive eloquence rendered him the idol of the nation. He had the best understanding of any man in England. His superior talents had subdued the House of Commons; and when raised to the helm of affairs, he applied the whole vigour of his mind to render his country sovereign of the seas, without neglecting the measures which might retrieve her glory by land. The treaty which the Duke of Cumberland had entered into at Closterseven he regarded with indignation, and considered as the reproach of England. The first measures which he adopted in the administration tended to destroy even the remembrance of that infamous negotiation. He requested the King, his master, to request Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick from the King of Prussia, and to set that General

at the head of the Allies. By his advice, King George augmented his army in Germany, and entered into new engagements with the King of Prussia and other Princes of that country. And the happy consequences of Mr. Pitt's measures were soon experienced in Germany, in America, and in every part of the world.

25. Plassey.

Malcolm, 'Memoirs of Lord Clive,' i. 263.

Robert Clive to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

July 26, 1757.

I gave you an account of the taking of Chandernagore; the subject of this address is an event of much higher importance, no less than the entire overthrow of Nabob Suraj-u-Dowlah, and the placing of Meer Jaffier on the throne. I intimated in my last how dilatory Suraj-u-Dowlah appeared in fulfilling the articles of the treaty. This disposition not only continued but increased, and we discovered that he was designing our ruin by a conjunction with the French. To this end Monsieur Bussy was pressingly invited to come into this province, and Monsieur Law of Cossimbazar was ordered to return from Patna.

About this time some of his principal officers made overtures to us for dethroning him. At the head of these was Meer Jaffier, then Bukhshee to the army, a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested. As we had reason to believe this disaffection pretty general, we soon entered into engagements

with Meer Jaffier to put the crown on his head. All necessary preparations being completed with the utmost secrecy, the army, consisting of about one thousand Europeans and two thousand sepoys, with eight pieces of cannon, marched from Chandernagore on the 13th and arrived on the 18th at Cutwa Fort. The 22nd, in the evening, we crossed the river, and landing on the island, marched straight for Plassey Grove, where we arrived by one in the morning.

At daybreak we discovered the Nabob's army moving towards us, consisting, as we since found, of about fifteen thousand horse and thirty-five thousand foot, with upwards of forty pieces of cannon. They approached apace, and by six began to attack with a number of heavy cannon, supported by the whole army, and continued to play on us very briskly for several hours, during which our situation was of the utmost service to us, being lodged in a large grove with good mud banks. To succeed in an attempt on their cannon was next to impossible, as they were planted in a manner round us, and at considerable distances from each other. We therefore remained quiet in our post, in expectation of a successful attack upon their camp at night.

About noon the enemy drew off their artillery, and retired to their camp. . . . . We immediately sent a detachment, accompanied with two field-pieces, to take possession of a tank with high banks, which was advanced about three hundred yards above our grove, and from which the enemy had considerably annoyed us with some cannon managed by Frenchmen. This motion brought them out a second time; but on finding them make no great

effort to dislodge us, we proceeded to take possession of one or two more eminences lying very near an angle of their camp. . . . They made several attempts to bring out their cannon, but our advanced field-pieces played so warmly and so well upon them that they were always drove back. Their horse exposing themselves a good deal on this occasion, many of them were killed, and among the rest four or five officers of the first distinction, by which the whole army being visibly dispirited and thrown into some confusion, we were encouraged to storm both the eminence and the angle of their camp, which were carried at the same instant, with little or no loss. . . . On this a general rout ensued, and we pursued the enemy six miles, passing upwards of forty pieces of cannon they had abandoned, with an infinite number of carriages filled with baggage of all kinds. Suraj-u-Dowlah escaped on a camel, and reaching Moorshedabad early next morning, despatched away what jewels and treasure he conveniently could, and he himself followed at midnight with only two or three attendants.

It is computed there are killed of the enemy about five hundred. Our loss amounted to only twenty-two killed and fifty wounded, and those chiefly blacks. During the warmest part of the action we observed a large body of troops hovering on our right, which proved to be our friends; but as they never discovered themselves by any signal whatsoever, we frequently fired on them to make them keep their distance. When the battle was over they sent a congratulatory message, and encamped in our neighbourhood that night. The next day Meer Jaffier

paid me a visit, and expressed much gratitude at the service done him, assuring me in the most solemn manner that he would faithfully perform his engagement to the English.

26. Clive upon British Policy in India.

Malcolm, 'Life of Clive,' i. 263.

To the Right Honourable William Pitt, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Calcutta,
January 7, 1759.

Sir,

. . . The close attention you bestow on the affairs of the British nation in general has induced me to trouble you with a few particulars relative to India, and to lay before you an exact account of the revenues of this country, the genuineness whereof you may depend on, as it has been faithfully extracted from the Minister's books.

The great revolution that has been effected here by the success of the English arms, and the vast advantages gained to the Company by a treaty concluded in consequence thereof, has, I observe, in some measure, attracted the public attention; but much more may yet in time be done, if the Company will exert themselves in the manner the importance of their present possessions and future prospects deserves. I have represented to them in the strongest terms the expediency of sending out and keeping up constantly such a force as will enable them to embrace the first opportunity of further aggrandizing

themselves, and I dare pronounce, with a thorough knowledge of this country's government, and of the genius of the people, acquired by two years' application and experience, that such an opportunity will soon offer. The reigning Subah, whom the victory at Plassey invested with the sovereignty of these provinces, still, it is true, retains his attachment to us, and probably, while he has no other support, will continue to do so; but the Mussulmans are so little influenced by gratitude, that should he ever think it to his interest to break with us, the obligations he owes us would prove no restraint. . . . Moreover, he is advanced in years, and his son is so cruel, worthless a young fellow, and so apparently an enemy of the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession. So small a body as two thousand Europeans will secure us against any apprehensions from either the one or the other; and in case of their daring to be troublesome, enable the Company to take the sovereignty upon themselves.

There will be the less difficulty in bringing about such an event, as the natives themselves have no attachment whatever to particular princes; and as, under the present government, they have no security for their lives and property, they would rejoice in so happy an exchange as that of a mild for a despotic government; and there is little room to doubt our obtaining the Moghul's *sunnud* in confirmation thereof, provided we agree to pay him the stipulated allotment out of the revenues—viz., fifty lacs annually. . . .

But so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company; and

it is to be feared they are not of themselves able, without the nation's assistance, to obtain so wide a dominion. I have therefore presumed, Sir, to represent this matter to you, and submit it to your consideration, whether the execution of a design that may hereafter be still carried to greater lengths be worthy of the Government taking it into hand. I flatter myself I have made it pretty clear to you; but there will be little or no difficulty in obtaining the absolute possession of these rich kingdoms, and that with the Moghul's own consent, on condition of paying him less than a fifth of the revenues thereof. Now I leave you to judge whether an income yearly of upwards of two million sterling, with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable production of nature and of art, be an object deserving the nation's attention, and whether it be worth the nation's while to take the proper measures to secure such an acquisition—an acquisition which, under the management of so able and disinterested a Minister, would prove a source of immense wealth to the kingdom, and might in time be appropriated in part as a fund toward diminishing the heavy load of debt under which we at present labour. Add to these advantages the influence we shall thereby acquire over the several European nations engaged in the commerce here, which these could no longer carry on but through our indulgence, and under such limitations as we should think fit to prescribe. . . .

Your most devoted humble servant,

ROBT. CLIVE.

27. The Campaign in America (1758-1759).

(A.)

The Campaign leading to Quebec.

Grenville Papers, i. 240.

(1)

The Rev. Mr. Cotton (with the troops in Canada) to Mr. Grenville.

From on Board the 'Princess Amelia,' at Anchor in Gabreuse Bay, *June* 20, 1758.

Sir,

I might justly be deemed ungrateful if I neglected any opportunity to acquaint you with the various occurrences of a public nature since I sailed from England for Halifax, where . . . by the 28th we were joined by all the troops and ships of war . . . and had the good fortune to meet General Amherst . . . who immediately went on board the Admiral's ship and proceeded with us; and by the 2nd instant we came to an anchor in this bay. . . .

We have blocked up in the harbour [*Louisbourg*] five or six two-deckers and an equal number of frigates and store-ships; and last evening General Wolfe, who has taken possession of the ground adjacent to their lighthouse, opened several batteries on the shipping, and obliged them to haul in close to the town.

(2)

From the Same.

July 2.

I was in hopes by this time to have acquainted you that our batteries had been opened and belaying

upon the town; but I believe the great difficulty in making roads to draw the cannon, and taking possession of the eminences adjacent to the town, and erecting redoubts to prevent being dislodged by the enemy, are the chief points that have retarded the army from battering the walls. . . .

All the accounts that we have yet received from General Abercrombie are, that the troops that are to proceed with him against Crown Point were marched for Albany above a month since, and that General Forbes is marched against Fort Duquesne on the Ohio in General Braddock's route.

(3)

From the Same.

LOUISBOURG HARBOUR,
August 10.

. . . I have the satisfaction to acquaint you of our troops taking possession of Louisbourg that day [*July 27*], and the garrison were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. . . . We had an imperfect account of the success attending General Abercrombie at Lake George . . . though the enemy have obliged him to retreat, which was occasioned in the following manner—viz., after our troops had landed within four miles of Ticonderoga (the French fort), they met with no opposition but what they surmounted without any great loss (except that of my lord Howe). . . . The reconnoitring parties told Mr. Abercrombie that the French were very busy in completing their entrenchments; upon which the General thought it advisable to attack the enemy

without loss of time, which he did, and found them too well prepared to receive him . . . and he found it impracticable to force their trenches, and was obliged to retreat with loss. . . .

(4)

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Grenville.

August 22, 1758.

My dear Grenville,

You have so kindly and warmly felt my joys on the happy event of Louisbourg, that you will share my present grief for the repulse and great loss of the troops under General Abercrombie at Ticonderoga. . . . I own this news has sunk my spirits. . . . Bradstreet is sent on an expedition to the lakes of the greatest importance. Forbes by a letter of the 10th of July was at Carlisle, some miles west of the Susquehanna, and 100 miles on his way to Fort Duquesne. Amherst, I trust, will be felt wherever he goes, perhaps even to Quebec, though the season be far advanced for such an operation. . . .

Wm. Pitt.

(5)

The Rev. Mr. Cotton to Mr. Grenville.

October 24, 1758.

[*On September* 27] I had the satisfaction to annex the account of Colonel Bradstreet's success on Lake Ontario [*the reduction of Frontenac*]. . . .

(B.)

Wolfe before Quebec.

General James Wolfe to Mr. Pitt.

Wright, 'Life of Wolfe.'

MONTMORENCI,
IN THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE,
September 2, 1759.

SIR,

I wish I could have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of his Majesty's arms; but the obstacles we have met with in the operations of the campaign are much greater than we had reason to expect or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy (though superior to us) as from the natural strength of the country, which the Marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon. . . .

The Admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found that, though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men-of-war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town are carefully intrenched, and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them and from the mortars. . . . To the uncommon strength of the country the enemy have added (for the defence of the river) a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance

of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute anything by surprise. . . .

By the list of disabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting. Yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. . . .

JAMES WOLFE.

(C.)

Capture of Quebec.

Captain John Knox, 'An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America,' ii. 654 (London, 1769).

Great preparations are making throughout the fleet and army to surprise the enemy, and compel them to decide the fate of Quebec by a battle; all the long-boats below the town are to be filled with seamen, marines, and such detachments as can be spared from Points Levi and Orleans, in order to make a feint off Beauport and the Point de Lest, and endeavour to engross the attention of the Sieur de Montcalm, while the army are to force a descent on this side of the town. . . .

The Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, with the troops under their command, reimbarked this day. . . . This evening all the boats of the fleet below the town were filled with marines, worked up,

and lay half-channel over opposite to Beauport, as if intending to land in the morning, and thereby

GENERAL WOLFE (1727-1759).

fix the enemy's whole attention to that quarter. . . . At nine o'clock this night, our army in high spirits, the first division of them put into the flat-bottomed

boats, and, in a short time after, the whole squadron moved up the river with the tide of flood, and about an hour before daylight we fell down with the ebb, Weather favourable, a starlight night.

Thursday, September 13.

Before daybreak this morning we made a descent upon the north shore, about a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Sillery. . . . This was a great surprise to the enemy, who from the natural strength of the place did not suspect, and consequently were not prepared against, so bold an attempt. The chain of sentries which they had posted along the summit of the heights galled us a little, and picked off several men and some officers, before our light infantry got up to dislodge them. This grand enterprise was conducted and executed with great good order and discretion ; as fast as we landed the boats put off for reinforcements, and the troops formed with much regularity ; the General, with Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were ashore with the first division. We lost no time here, but clambered up one of the steepest precipices that can be conceived, being almost a perpendicular, and of an incredible height. As soon as we gained the summit, all was quiet, and not a shot was heard, owing to the excellent conduct of the light infantry under Colonel Howe ; it was by this time clear daylight.

Here we formed again, the river and the south country in our rear, our right extending to the town, our left to Sillery, and halted a few minutes. The General then detached the light troops to our left to rout the enemy from their battery, and to disable

their guns . . . and this service was soon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched toward the town by files till we came to the plains of Abraham, an even piece of ground which Mr. Wolfe had made choice of, while we stood forming upon the hill. Weather showery.

About six o'clock the enemy just made their appearance upon the heights between us and the town, whereupon we halted, and wheeled to the right, thereby forming the line of battle. . . . The enemy had now likewise formed the line of battle, and got some cannon to play on us with round and canister-shot; but what galled us most was a body of Indians and other marksmen they had concealed in the corn opposite to the front of our right wing, and a coppice that stood opposite to our centre, inclining towards our left; but Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Monckton's orders, advanced some platoons from the forty-seventh regiment, which after a few rounds obliged these sculkers to retire. We were now ordered to lie down, and remained some time in this position.

About eight o'clock we had two pieces of short brass six-pounders playing on the enemy, which threw them into some confusion and obliged them to alter their disposition, and Montcalm formed them into three large columns; about nine the two armies moved a little nearer each other. The light cavalry made a faint attempt upon our parties at the battery of Sillery, but were soon beat off, and Monsieur de Bougainville, with his troops from Cape Rouge, came down to attack the flank of our second line, hoping to penetrate there; but by a masterly dis-

position of Brigadier Townshend they were forced to desist, and the third battalion of Royal Americans was then detached to the first ground we had formed on after we gained the heights to preserve the communication with the beach and our boats.

About ten o'clock the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third towards our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty, until they came within forty yards, which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire and paying the strictest obedience to their officers: this uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our field-pieces made among them, threw them into some disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small-arms, such as they could no longer oppose; hereupon they gave way and fled with precipitation, so that by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished, our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town . . . making many officers and men prisoners.

The weather cleared up with a comfortably warm sunshine; the Highlanders chased them vigorously towards Charles's River, until they were checked by the cannon from the two hulks; at the same time a gun which the town had brought to bear upon us with grape-shot galled the progress of the regiments to the right, who were likewise pursuing with equal ardour . . . but a few platoons completed our victory.

Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of—General JAMES WOLFE, who received his mortal wound as he was exerting himself at the head of the Grenadiers of Louisbourg. . . . After our late worthy General, of renowned memory, was carried off wounded to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down. Being asked if he would have a surgeon, he replied: 'It is needless; it is all over with me.' One of them then cried out: 'They run; see how they run!' 'Who runs?' demanded our hero with great earnestness, like a person aroused from sleep. The officer answered: 'The enemy, Sir; egad! they give way everywhere!' Thereupon the General rejoined: 'Go, one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton; tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed to Charles's River, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge.' Then turning on his side, he added: 'Now, God be praised, I will die in peace'; and thus expired.

28. THE YEAR OF VICTORIES, 1759.

Horace Walpole, 'Letters.'

(1)

August 29, 1759.

Truly, I don't know whether one is to be rejoicing or lamenting! Every good heart is a bonfire for Prince Ferdinand's success [*Minden*], and a funeral pile for the King of Prussia's defeat [*Kunersdorf*].

(2)

September 13, 1759.

I have . . . no particular news to tell you; but, at present, it would be treating heroes and conquerors with great superciliousness, if I . . . said nothing of them. We have taken more places and ships in a week than would have set up such pedant nations as Greece and Rome to all futurity. . . . Admiral Boscawen has, in a very Roman style, made free with the coast of Portugal, and used it to make a bonfire of the French fleet. When Mr. Pitt was told of this infraction of a neutral territory, he replied: 'It is very true, but they are burned.' In short, we want but a little more insolence and a worse cause to make us a very classic nation.

(3)

October 21, 1759.

Can we easily leave the remains of such a year as this? It is still all gold. I have not dined or gone to bed by a fire till the day before yesterday. Instead of the glorious and ever-memorable year 1759, as the newspapers call it, I call it this ever-warm and victorious year. We have not had more conquest than fine weather: one would think we had plundered East and West Indies of sunshine. Our bells are worn threadbare with ringing for victories. . . . One thing is very fatiguing—all the world is made knights or generals. Adieu! I don't know a word of news less than the conquest of America.

P.S.—You shall hear from me again if we take Mexico or China before Christmas.

(4)

The Battle of Quiberon Bay.

Horace Walpole, 'Letters,'
November 30 *of the Great Year.*

Here is a victory more than I promised you! For these thirteen days we have been in the utmost impatience for news. The Brest fleet had got out; Duff, with three ships, was in the utmost danger; Ireland ached; Sir Edward Hawke had notice in ten hours and sailed after Conflans; Saunders arrived the next moment from Quebec, heard it, and sailed after Hawke without landing his glory. No express arrived; storms blew; we knew not what to think. This morning at four we heard that, on the 20th, Sir Edward Hawke came in sight of the French, who were pursuing Duff. The fight began at half an hour past two—that is, the French began to fly, making a running fight. Conflans tried to save himself behind the rocks of Belleisle, but was forced to burn his ship of eighty guns and twelve hundred men. The *Formidable*, of eighty, and one thousand men is taken; we burned the *Hero* of seventy-four. The *Thésée* and *Superbe* of seventy-four and seventy were sunk in the action and the crews lost. Eight of their ships are driven up the Vilaine, after having thrown over their guns. . . . Hawke hopes to destroy them. Our loss is a scratch—one lieutenant and thirty-nine men killed. . . .

Thus we wind up this wonderful year! Who that died three years ago and could revive would believe it? . . . I think our sixteen years of fears of invasion are over—after sixteen victories.

John Wesley's Journal.

December, 1759.

I returned to London, and on Thursday, 29, the day appointed for the General Thanksgiving, I preached again in the chapel near the Seven Dials, both morning and afternoon. I believe the oldest man in England has not seen a Thanksgiving Day so observed before. It had the solemnity of the General Fast. All the shops were shut up; the people in the streets appeared, one and all, with an air of seriousness; the Prayers, Lessons, and whole Public Service, were admirably suited to the occasion. The prayer for our enemies, in particular, was extremely striking; perhaps it is the first instance of the kind in Europe. There was no noise, hurry, bonfires, fireworks in the evening, and no public diversions. This is indeed a Christian holiday. . . . The next day came the news that Sir Edward Hawke had dispersed the French fleet.

29. Relations of George II. and the Prince of Wales.

1737. Hervey, 'Memoirs of George II.'

On Friday, Lord Hervey hearing the Prince was come from Kew to Carlton House in Pall Mall, suspected he had done so in order to come to St. James's to inquire after the Queen [*Queen Caroline was now lying on her death-bed*], and perhaps to ask to see her; and that no resolution on such a step might be taken by the King in a hurry, Lord Hervey told the King his conjecture, and asked His Majesty, in case it should prove a

true one, what he would have done. The King said: 'If the puppy should, in one of his impertinent affected airs of duty and affection, dare to come to St. James's, I order you to go to the scoundrel and tell him I wonder at his impudence for daring to come here; that he has my orders already, and knows my pleasure, and bid him go about his business; for his poor mother is not in a condition to see him act his false, whining, cringing tricks now, nor am I in a humour to bear his impertinence; and bid him trouble me with no more messages, but get out of my house.'

30. The Church and the Methodist Revival.

(A.)

The Decadence of the 'Georgian' Church.

(1)

1713. Burnet, 'History of His Own Time,' Conclusion, iv. 416.

I have lamented, during my whole life, that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy. I saw much of it among the clergy of the Church of Rome, though it is both ill-directed and ill-conducted; I saw much zeal likewise throughout the foreign churches. The dissenters have a great deal among them; but I must own that the main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me; and instead of animating one another, they seem rather to lay one another asleep. Without a visible alteration in this, you will fall under an universal contempt, and lose both the credit and the fruits of your ministry.

(2)

1751. Bishop Butler, 'Charge to the Clergy of Durham,' 1751.

It is impossible for me, my brethen, to forbear lamenting with you the general decay of religion in this nation; which is now observed by everyone, and has been for some time the complaint of all serious persons. The influence of it is more and more wearing out of the minds of men, even of those who do not pretend to enter into speculations upon the subject; but the number of those who do, and who profess themselves unbelievers, increases, and with their numbers, their zeal.

(3)

A Time-Serving Bishop.

Bishop Hoadly to Sir Robert Walpole.

August 8, 1734.

Sir,

Hearing from all hands the desperate condition in which the Bishop of Winchester is (if not already dead), I flatter myself you will not take it amiss that I express to you my entire dependence upon those kind words you have often said to me upon this subject. When I last had the honour to see you at Chelsea, the reception I met with was so exceeding obliging, and your voluntary expressions, upon the supposition of that vacancy, were so hearty and so strong, that it would, I think, be perfectly stupid as to myself and highly ungrateful to you, if I could sit silent in so critical a time, and not suffer myself to express to you the sense I have of the kind

professions I have been favoured with, and my full persuasion of the truth and honour of the person who made them. . . . Give me leave to add only one word—that, as your bringing this affair to an end in the manner in which you are used to do kindnesses to those you are willing to oblige, is all that remains to me to wish, so when it is done, I trust that you will not be unthanked by all the world, and I am sure, for myself, I shall study through my life to show myself in an uncommon manner and upon all possible occasions, Sir, your most faithful and obedient servant.

BENJ. SARUM.

A word from you will find me in Grosvenor Street after Saturday next.

(B.)

Methodism at Work.

(1)

John Wesley's Journal.

April, 1746.

About this time I received a letter from John Nelson, whom I had left at Birmingham :

After I left Wednesbury, I stayed two nights at Nottingham, and had large congregations. But while I was meeting the Society the second night there came a mob, raging as if they would pull the house to the ground. As soon as we had done meeting, the Constable came and seized me, and said I must go before the Mayor for making a riot. So he took me by the arm, and led me through the streets, the mob

accompanying us with curses and huzzas. God gave me, as we went, to speak very plain to the Constable,

JONH WESLEY (1703-1791).

From the painting by Nathaniel Hone, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery.

and to all that were near me, till one cried out, 'Don't carry him to the Mayor, for he is a friend to the

Methodists, but to Alderman ——.' Upon this he turned and led me to the Alderman's. When we were brought in he said, 'Sir, I have brought you another Methodist preacher.' He asked my name and said, 'I wonder you cannot stay at home; you see the mob won't suffer you to preach in this town.' I said, 'I did not know this town was governed by the mob; most towns are governed by the magistrates.' He said, 'What, do you expect us to take your parts, when you take the people from their work?' I said, 'Sir, you are wrong informed; we preach at five in the morning, and seven at night. . . .' Then he said, 'I believe you are the cause of all the evil that is fallen upon this nation.' I said, 'What reason have you to believe so? Can you prove that one Methodist in England did assist the rebels, with either men, money, or arms?' He said, 'No. . . .' And God opened my mouth, and I did not cease to set life and death before him. The Constable began to be uneasy, and said to him, 'What must we do with him?' 'Well,' he said, 'I think you must take him to your house.' But he desired to be excused. Then the Justice said, 'You may go where you came from. . . .' So he brought me to our brethren again.

(2)

August, 1746.

The next day I [*John Wesley*] rode to Leominster. At six in the evening I began preaching on a tombstone close to the south side of the church. The multitude roared on every side, but my voice soon prevailed, and more and more of the people

were melted down, till they began ringing the bells; but neither thus did they gain their point, for my voice prevailed still. Then the organs began to play amain. Mr. C——, the curate, went into the church and endeavoured to stop them, but in vain. So I thought it best to remove to the corn-market. The whole congregation followed, to whom many more were joined, who would not have come to the churchyard. Here we had a quiet time, and I showed what that sect is which is 'everywhere spoken against.'

(3)

October, 1749.

We came to Bolton about five in the evening. We had no sooner entered the main street than we perceived the lions at Rochdale were lambs in comparison of those at Bolton. Such rage and bitterness I scarce ever saw before in any creatures that bore the form of men. They followed us in full cry to the house where we went, and as soon as we were gone in, took possession of all the avenues to it, and filled the street from one end to the other. After some time the waves did not roar quite so loud. Mr. P—— thought he might then venture out. They immediately closed in, threw him down, and rolled him in the mire, so that when he scrambled from them, and got into the house again, one could scarce tell what or who he was. When the first stone came among us through the window, I expected a shower to follow, and the rather because they had now procured a bell to call their whole forces together. But they did not design to carry on the attack at a distance.

Presently one ran up and told us the mob had burst into the house. He added that they had got J—— B—— in the midst of them. They had, and he laid hold on the opportunity to tell them of 'the terrors of the Lord. . . .' Believing the time was now come, I walked down into the thickest of them. They had now filled all the rooms below. I called for a chair. The winds were hushed, and all was calm and still. My heart was filled with love, my eyes with tears, and my mouth with arguments. They were amazed, they were ashamed, they were melted down, they devoured every word. What a turn was this! Oh! how did God change the counsel of the old Ahithophel into foolishness, and bring all the drunkards, swearers, Sabbath-breakers, and mere sinners in the place to hear of His plenteous redemption!

(4)

April, 1755.

We rode on Thursday in the afternoon through heavy rain and almost impassable roads to Evesham, and on Friday, 4th, to Birmingham, a barren, dry, uncomfortable place. Most of the seed, which has been sown for so many years, the 'wild boars' have 'rooted up'; the fierce, unclean, brutish, blasphemous Antinomians have utterly destroyed it. And the mystic foxes have taken true pains to spoil what remained with their new gospel. Yet it seems God has a blessing for this place still, and He is eminently present with the small number that is left in the society.

(C.)

Some Hostile References to Methodism.

(1)

1739. Tindal, 'Continuation of Rapin's History,' v. 439.

This year was distinguished by the institution of a set of fanatics under the name of Methodists, of which one Whitefield, a young clergyman, was the founder. . . . Striking in with the common fanatical jargon and practices of enthusiasm, he soon found himself at the head of a number of disciples, as might have been dangerous to the public repose had they attempted to disturb it. . . . The Established Clergy, instead of imitating the practice of former times, were far from persecuting himself and his followers, and wisely treated him at first with reserve, and afterwards with silent contempt. This moderation had not the desired effect; it set the founder to encroach on parochial churches without the consent of the incumbents, to the great danger of the peace of society.

(2)

Smollett, 'History of England,' v. 375.

The progress of reason, and free cultivation of the human mind, had not, however, entirely banished those ridiculous sects and schisms, of which the kingdom had been formerly so productive. Imposture and fanaticism still hung upon the skirts of religion. Weak minds were seduced by the delusion of a superstition styled Methodism, raised upon the affectation of superior sanctity, and main-

tained by pretensions to Divine illumination. Many thousands in the lower ranks of life were infected with this species of enthusiasm by the unwearied endeavours of a few obscure preachers, such as Whitefield and the two Wesleys, who propagated their doctrine to the most remote corners of the British dominions.

(3)

Horace Walpole,
'Memoirs of George II.,' ii. 282.

There were no religious combustibles in the temper of the times. Popery and Protestantism seemed at a stand. The modes of Christianity were exhausted, and could not furnish novelty enough to fix attention. . . . Whitefield and the Methodists made more money than disturbances. His largest crop of proselytes lay among servant-maids; and his warmest devotees went to Bedlam without going to war. . . . Some of the elders, too, of our own Church, seeing what harvests were brought into the tabernacles of Whitefield and Wesley by familiarizing God's Word to the vulgar, had the discretion to apply the same call to their own lost sheep, and tinkled back their old women by sounding the brass of the Methodists.

(D.)

Purpose and Position of Methodism.

(1)

John Wesley's Journal.
September, 1756.

About fifty of us being met, the rules of the Society were read over and carefully considered, one

by one. . . . We largely considered the necessity of keeping in the Church, and using the Clergy with tenderness, and there was no dissenting voice. God gave us all to be of one mind and of one judgment.

(2)

1777. From a sermon of John Wesley.

One circumstance attending the present revival of religion is, I apprehend, quite peculiar to it. It cannot be denied that there have been several considerable revivals of religion in England since the Reformation. But the generality of the English nation were little profited thereby, because they that were the subjects of those revivals, preachers as well as people, soon separated from the Established Church, and formed themselves into a distinct sect. So did the Presbyterians first; afterwards the Independents, the Anabaptists, and the Quakers; and after this was done they did scarce any good, except to their own little body. . . . But it is not so in the present revival of religion. The Methodists (so termed) know their own calling. Their first purpose is, let the Clergy or laity use them well or ill, by the grace of God to endure all things, to hold on their even course, and to continue in the Church, maugre men or devils, unless God permits them to be thrust out.

31. Character of George III.

(A.)

An Early Account.

1758. Waldegrave,[1] 'Memoirs' (London, 1821).

His parts, though not excellent, will be found very tolerable, if ever they are properly exercised. He is strictly honest, but wants that frank and open behaviour which makes honesty appear amiable. When he had a very scanty allowance, it was one of his favourite maxims that men should be just before they are generous. His income is now [1758] very considerably augmented, but his generosity has not increased in equal proportion.

His religion is free from all hypocrisy, but is not of the most charitable sort; he has rather too much attention to the sins of his neighbour.

He has spirit, but not of the active kind; and does not want resolution, but it is mixed with too much obstinacy.

He has great command of his passions, and will seldom do wrong, except when he mistakes wrong for right; but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is uncommonly indolent and has strong prejudices. . . .

He has a kind of unhappiness in his temper which . . . will be a source of frequent anxiety. Whenever he is displeased, his anger does not break out with heat and violence; but he becomes sullen and silent,

[1] Waldegrave was tutor to George III. when Prince of Wales.

and retires to his closet, not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill-humour.

. . . The Earl of Bute, by the assistance of the mother, has now the entire confidence. But whether this change will be greatly to His Royal Highness's advantage, is a nice question. . . .

(B.)

About 1800. N. W. Wraxall, 'Memoirs,' i. 9.

His present Majesty's whole life, from the age of twenty-two down to the lamented period at which he ceased to reign, was passed either in the severe and exemplary discharge of his *public* duties of every description, or in the bosom of his family amidst *domestic* sources of amusement. In his agricultural occupations, or when engaged in the diversions of the field, he was only seen by a few individuals, who, from their official situations or dignity, had access to his person. No splendid assemblies or festive entertainments . . . presented him to view, divested of the forms of Royalty. Unlike his predecessor, who even at an advanced age still preserved a relish for those enjoyments; equally unlike his son, the present Regent, whose graceful manners, dignified affability, and splendid taste, have rendered his Palace the centre of pleasures—George the Third, while a young man, neither frequented masquerades, nor ever engaged at play, nor protracted the hours of convivial enjoyment, nor passed his evenings in society calculated to unbend his mind from the fatigues of business and the vexations of State. All the splendour of a Court was laid aside. . . .

32. The Theory of Benevolent Despotism.

Bolingbroke, 'Idea of a Patriot King,' 1738.

First, he must begin to govern as soon as he begins to reign. . . . His first care will be, no doubt, to purge his Court, and to call into the Administration such men as he can assure himself will serve on the same principles on which he intends to govern. . . .

The true image of a free people, governed by a patriot King, is that of a patriarchal family, where the head and all the members are united by one common interest. . . . All the views of a patriot King will be directed to make it succeed. Instead of abetting the divisions of his people, he will endeavour to unite them, and to be himself the centre of their union. . . .

The Evils of a Party of 'King's Friends.'

If his people are united in their submission to him, . . . he must not only espouse, but create, a party, in order to govern by one; and what should tempt him to pursue so wild a measure? A prince, who aims at more power than the Constitution gives him, may be so tempted; because he may hope to obtain, in the disorders of the state, what cannot be obtained in quiet times. . . . Such a party is then become a faction, such a king is a tyrant, and such a government is a conspiracy.

33. The Political Tactics of George III.

Burke, 'Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents,' 'Works,'

1770. ii. 229 *et seq.*

The power of the Crown, almost dead and rotten as prerogative, has grown up anew, with much more strength and far less odium, under the name of Influence. . . . At the Revolution the Crown, deprived . . . of many prerogatives, was found too weak to struggle against all the difficulties, which pressed so new and unsettled a Government. The Court was obliged therefore to delegate a part of its powers to men of such interest as could support, and of such fidelity as would adhere to, its establishment. . . . At the same time, through the intervention of men of popular weight and character, the people possessed a security for their just proportion of importance in the State. . . .

To get rid of all this intermediate and independent importance, and *to secure to the Court the unlimited and uncontrouled use of its own vast influence under the sole direction of its own private favour*, has for some years past been the great object of policy. . . . The first part of the reformed plan was to draw *a line which should separate the Court from the Ministry*. Hitherto these names have been looked upon as synonymous; but for the future Court and Administration were to be considered as things totally distinct. By this operation two systems were to be formed: one which should be in the real secret and confidence; the other merely ostensible to perform the official and executory duties of Government. The latter

were alone to be responsible; whilst the real advisers, who enjoyed all the power, were effectually removed from all the danger. . . .

The third point, and that on which the success of the whole scheme ultimately depended, was *to bring Parliament to an acquiescence in this project.* Parliament was therefore to be taught by degrees a total indifference to the persons, rank, influence, abilities, connexions and character, of the Ministers of the Crown. By means of a discipline, on which I shall say more hereafter, that body was to be habituated to the most opposite interests, and the most discordant politicks. . . . As hitherto the business had gone through the hands of leaders of Whigs or Tories, men of talents to conciliate the people, and engage to their confidence; now the method was to be altered, and the lead was to be given to men of no sort of consideration or credit in the country. . . . It was to be avowed as a constitutional maxim that the King might appoint one of his footmen, or one your footmen, for Minister. . . . Thus Parliament was to look on, as if perfectly unconcerned, while a cabal of the closet and backstairs was substituted in the place of a national administration. . . . Many innocent gentlemen, who had been talking prose all their lives without knowing anything of the matter, began at last to open their eyes upon their own merits, and to attribute their not having been Lords of the Treasury many years before to the prevalence of party and to the ministerial power, which had frustrated the good intentions of the Court in favour of their abilities. Now was the time to unlock the

sealed fountain of Royal bounty, which had been infamously monopolized and huckstered, and to let it flow at large upon the whole people. The time was come to restore Royalty to its original splendour. *Mettre le Roy hors de page* became a sort of watch-word.

The members of the Court faction are fully indemnified for not holding places on the slippery heights of the kingdom, not only by the lead in all affairs, but also by the perfect security in which they enjoy less conspicuous but very advantageous situations. Their places are in express legal tenure, or in effect all for life. Whilst the first and most respectable persons in the kingdom are tossed about like tennis balls, the sport of a blind and insolent caprice, no Minister dares even to cast an oblique glance at the lowest of their body . . . and the slightest attempt upon one of them, by the most powerful Minister, is a certain preliminary to his own destruction.

Conscious of their independence, they bear themselves with a lofty air to the exterior Ministers. Like Janissaries, they derive a kind of freedom from the very condition of their servitude. They may act just as they please, provided they are true to the great ruling principle of their institution . . . enjoying at once all the spirited pleasure of independence, and all the gross lucre and fat emoluments of servitude.

Here is a sketch, though a slight one, of the constitution, laws, and policy of this new Court corporation. The name by which they choose to distinguish themselves is that of *King's men*, or the

King's friends, by an invidious exclusion of the rest of His Majesty's most loyal and affectionate subjects. The whole system, comprehending the exterior and interior administrations, is commonly called in the technical language of the Court *double cabinet;* in French or English, as you choose to pronounce it.

34. The New Reign opens.

Mitchell Papers, quoted in Ellis, 'Original Letters,' B., iv. 425.

General Yorke to Sir Andrew Mitchell, Ambassador at Berlin.

The Hague,
January 8, 1761.

The young Monarch has ascended the Throne in the happiest æra of the British nation, the first of his family born in England, in the prime of a life, with a good constitution, and with the good opinion of his subjects. He has many amiable and virtuous qualities, is rather timid, but spoke his speech with great grace and dignity. He received all his grandfather's servants with great goodness, and pressed them to continue in his service, which they consented to, though some of them, particularly the Duke of Newcastle, was inclined to retire; but all the Whigs in the kingdom united to desire his continuance in employment, and he was promised the direction in the new elections, with all the other influence he formerly enjoyed. Mr. Pitt has, however, the lead, and Lord Bute has a difficult game to play as a personal friend and favourite, with weight, of course, but no employment of business. This, you see,

must occasion new scenes. . . . Hitherto things have gone on smoothly in appearance, and in Parliament unanimously, and the only thing which occasioned a fluster was the invitation and admission of some Tory lords and commoners into the bed-chamber. . . . In what manner the new Parliament will be chosen we shall soon see. I hear the fashion at Court is to say it shall be a Parliament of the people's own choosing, which, in these times may open the door to new cabals and difficulties though the principle of it may be wise and honest. . .

As to the war, they would be glad to get out of it if they could, and His Majesty wishes personally for it. One difficulty is out of the way, which is Hanover, for at present the influence from that quarter is quite at an end.

35. The Treaty of Paris, 1763.

From 'The Annual Register,' 1762.

The Definitive Treaty of Friendship and Peace between his Britannic Majesty, the most Christian King, and the King of Spain, concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763, to which the King of Portugal acceded the same day.

Article I.—There shall be a Christian, universal and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannic, most Christian, Catholic and most Faithful Majesties. . . .

[Article II. confirms and re-enacts previous treaties—*e.g.*, Westphalia, Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle.]

[ARTICLE III. arranges for the restoration of all prisoners, hostages, captured vessels, etc.]

ARTICLE IV.—His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia or Acadia, in all its parts, and guarantees the whole of it to the King of Great Britain; moreover, his most Christian Majesty cedes and guarantees to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence . . .; so that the most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction.

His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada. . . . His Britannic Majesty further agrees that the French inhabitants . . . may retire with all safety and freedom wherever they shall think proper . . . and may sell their estates . . . and bring away their effects.

ARTICLE V.—The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland . . .: and his Britannic Majesty consents to leave the subjects of the most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulf of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishing but at a distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain. . . .

ARTICLE VI.—The King of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right,

to his most Christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen. . . .

[ARTICLE VII. prescribes the Mississippi as the boundary between British and French territory in what is now the United States.]

ARTICLE VIII.—The King of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadeloupe, of Martinico, and of Belleisle: and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the British arms. . . .

ARTICLE X.—His Britannic Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his most Christian Majesty cedes to the King of England the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Golam.

ARTICLE XI.—In the East Indies Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they now are in, the different factories which that Crown possessed . . . at the beginning of the year 1749. And his most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions to the acquisitions he had made on the coast of Coromandel since the said beginning of the year 1749 . . . and all that he may have conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies during the present war. . . .

ARTICLE XII.—The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannic Majesty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in when conquered by the arms of the most Christian King. . . .

[ARTICLES XVI.-XIX. declare that Great Britain shall restore to Spain all conquests in Honduras and Cuba, 'with the fortress of the Havanna.']

ARTICLE XX.—His Catholic Majesty cedes, in full right, to his Britannic Majesty Florida, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America to the east, or to the south-east of the river Mississippi.

[ARTICLE XXI. enacts that all Portuguese possessions conquered or captured by France or Spain shall be restored to the King of Portugal.]

* * * * *

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

(L.S.) BEDFORD, C.P.S.
(L.S.) CHOISEUL, Duc de Praslin.
(L.S.) EL MARQ. DE GRIMALDI.

36. PITT'S CRITICISM OF THE TREATY OF PARIS.

From 'Anecdotes and Speeches of the Earl of Chatham,' i. 352.

[In 1760-61 Pitt had carried on protracted negotiations with the French Minister Choiseul, in which he had stipulated for terms even more favourable than those actually agreed to in the Treaty of 1763. In the debate in the House of Commons on December 9, 1762, when the preliminary articles of the treaty were discussed, Pitt attacked them vigorously, comparing them unfavourably with his own demands of a year before.]

The first important article was the fishery [*Article V.*]. The terms in which this article was written appeared to him to give to France a grant of the whole fishery. There was an absolute unconditional surrender of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which, if France continued to be as attentive to her own interest as we have hitherto found her, would enable her to recover her marine. He considered

this to be a most dangerous article to the maritime strength and future power of Great Britain. . . .

Of the dereliction of North America by the French [*Article IV.*] he entirely approved. But the negotiators had no trouble in obtaining this acquisition. It had been the *uti possidetis* in his own negotiation, to which the French had readily consented. But Florida [*Article XX.*], he said, was no compensation for the Havanna [*Article XIX.*]; the Havanna was an important conquest. . . . From the moment the Havanna was taken, all the Spanish treasures and riches in America lay at our mercy. Spain had purchased the security of all these, and the restoration of Cuba also, with the cession of Florida only. It was no equivalent.

Goree [*Article X.*], he said, is also surrendered, without the least apparent necessity. . . .

In the East Indies [*Article XI.*] there was an engagement for mutual restoration of conquests. He asked, 'What were the conquests which France had to restore?' He declared that she had none. . . . Therefore the restitution was all from one side. We retained nothing, although we had conquered everything.

The restitution of Minorca he approved, and that, he said, was the only conquest which France had to restore, and for this island we had given the East Indies, the West Indies, and Africa. The purchase was made at a price that was fifty times more than it was worth. Belleisle alone [*Article VIII.*], he affirmed, was a sufficient equivalent for Minorca. . . .

The desertion of the King of Prussia, whom he styled the most magnanimous ally this country ever

had, he reprobated in the strongest terms. He called it insidious, tricking, base, and treacherous. After amusing that great and wonderful Prince during four months with promises of the subsidy, he had been deceived and disappointed. . . .

Upon the whole, the terms of the proposed treaty met with his most hearty disapprobation. He saw in them the seeds of a future war. The peace was insecure, because it restored the enemy to her former greatness. The peace was inadequate because the places gained were no equivalent for the places surrendered.

37. The 'North Briton,' No. 45.

April 23, 1763.

The King's Speech has always been considered by the Legislature, and by the public at large, as the speech of the Minister. It has regularly, at the beginning of every session of Parliament, been referred by both Houses to the consideration of a committee, and has been generally canvassed with the utmost freedom, when the Minister of the Crown has been obnoxious to the nation. The Ministers of this free country, conscious of the undoubted privileges of so spirited a people, and with the terrors of Parliament before their eyes, have ever been cautious, no less with regard to the matter than to the expressions of speeches which they have advised the Sovereign to make from the throne at the beginning of each Session. They well knew that an honest House of Parliament, true to their trust, could not fail to detect the fallacious arts, or to remonstrate

against the daring acts of violence committed by any Minister. . . .

This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. The *Minister's Speech* of last Tuesday is not to be paralleled in the annals of this country. I am in doubt whether the imposition is greater on the Sovereign or on the nation. Every friend of his country must lament that a Prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable public declarations from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour, and unsullied virtue.

I am sure all foreigners, especially the King of Prussia, will hold the Minister in contempt and abhorrence. He has made our Sovereign declare: 'My expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my Crown have derived from this salutary measure of the definitive treaty. The powers at war with my good brother, the King of Prussia, have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation as that great Prince has approved; and the success which has attended my negotiation has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe.' The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind, for it is known that the King of Prussia did not barely approve, but absolutely dictated, as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous Prince from our

negotiation, but he was basely deserted by the Scottish Prime Minister of England. He was known by every Court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms of friendship here than at Vienna, and he was betrayed by us in the Treaty of Peace. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a Minister to lay claim to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest Princes the world has ever seen. The King of Prussia has gloriously kept all his former conquests, and stipulated security for all his allies, even for the Elector of Hanover. I know in what light this great Prince is considered in Europe, and in what manner he has been treated here; among other reasons, perhaps, from some contemptuous expressions which he may have used of the Scot—expressions which are every day echoed by the whole body of Englishmen through the southern part of this island.

The Preliminary Articles of Peace were such as have drawn the contempt of mankind on our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored, and the East India Company would have been infallibly ruined by a single article of this fallacious and baneful negotiation. . . . These gross blunders are indeed in some measure set right by the Definitive Treaty; yet the most important articles, relative to cessions, commerce, and the FISHERY remain as they were.

The Minister cannot forbear, even in the King's Speech, insulting us with a dull repetition of the word 'economy.' I did not expect so soon to have seen that word again after it had been so lately

exploded, and, more than once, by a most numerous audience hissed off the stage of our English theatres. It is held in derision by the voice of the people, and every tongue loudly proclaims the universal contempt in which their empty professions are held by this nation. Let the public be informed of a single instance of economy, except indeed in the household. . . . Is it not notorious that in the reduction of the army not the least attention has been paid to it? Many unnecessary expenses have been incurred, only to increase the power of the Crown—that is, to create more lucrative jobs for the creatures of the Minister. . . .

A despotic Minister will always endeavour to dazzle his Prince with high-flown ideas of the prerogative and honour of his Crown, which the Minister will make a parade of firmly maintaining. I wish as much as any man in the kingdom to see the honour of the Crown maintained in a manner truly becoming Royalty. I lament to see it sunk even to prostitution. . . . I wish to see the 'honour of the Crown' religiously asserted with regard to our allies, and the dignity of it scrupulously maintained with regard to foreign Princes. . . . Was it a tender regard for the 'honour' of the late King, or of his present Majesty, that invited to Court Lord George Sackville, in these first days of peace, to share in the general satisfaction which all good courtiers received in the indignity offered to Lord Ligonier? Was this to show princely gratitude to the eminent services of the accomplished General of the house of Brunswick, who has had so great a share in rescuing Europe from the yoke of France . . .? Or is it meant to assert the 'honour

of the Crown' only against the united wishes of a loyal and affectionate people, founded in a happy experience of the talents, ability, integrity and virtue of those who have had the glory of redeeming their country from bondage and ruin, in order to support, by every art of corruption and intimidation, a weak, disjointed, incapable set of—I will call them anything but Ministers—by whom the Favourite still meditates to rule this kingdom with a rod of iron.

The Stuart line has ever been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of the absolute, independent, unlimited power of the Crown. Some of that line were so weakly advised as to endeavour to reduce them into practice; but the English nation was too spirited to suffer the least encroachment on the ancient liberties of this kingdom. . . . The personal character of our present amiable Sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodged in such hands, but the Favourite has given too just cause for him to escape the general odium. The 'prerogative' of the Crown is to exert the constitutional powers entrusted to it in a way, not of blind favour and partiality, but of wisdom and judgment. This is the spirit of our Constitution. The people, too, have their prerogative, and I hope the five words of Dryden will be engraven on our hearts: 'Freedom, the English subjects' prerogative.'

38. John Wilkes and General Warrants.

(A.)

The Warrant for the Arrest.

Gentleman's Magazine, May, 1763, p. 239 *et seq.*

George Montagu Dunk, Earl of Halifax, etc., one of the lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's Forces, and principal Secretary of State:

These are in His Majesty's name to authorize and require you (taking a constable to your assistance) to make strict and diligent search for the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious and treasonable paper, entitled, 'The North Briton,' No. 45, Saturday, April 23, 1763, printed for G. Kearsly in Ludgate Street, London, and them or any of them having found to apprehend and seize, together with their papers, and to bring in safe custody before me to be examined and further dealt with according to law, etc.

Judgment of the Court.

When Mr. Wilkes had made an end, Lord Chief Justice Pratt stood up and delivered the opinion of the Court on the three following heads, which were chiefly insisted on by counsel:

First, the legality of Mr. Wilkes' commitment.

Secondly, the necessity for a specification of those particular passages in the 45th number of the 'North Briton' which had been deemed a libel.

Thirdly, Mr. Wilkes' privilege as a Member of Parliament.

In regard to the first, his lordship remarked that he would consider a Secretary of State's warrant as nothing superior to the warrant of a common justice of the peace, and that no magistrate had *ex officio* a right to apprehend any person without stating the particular crime of which he was accused; but at the same time he observed there were many precedents where a nice combination of circumstances gave so strong a suspicion of facts that . . . the magistrate was supported in the commitment. . . . Upon the whole of this point . . . his lordship was of opinion that Mr. Wilkes' commitment was not illegal.

In relation to the next article . . . his lordship took notice that the insertion of these passages was not at all necessary. . . .

With respect to the third and last point, how far Mr. Wilkes had a right to plead his privilege as a Member of Parliament, my Lord Chief Justice remarked that there were but three cases which could possibly affect the privilege of a Member of Parliament, and these were treason, felony, and the peace. . . . Mr. Wilkes stood accused of writing a libel. A libel in the sense of the law . . . did not come within the description of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, and consequently could not be sufficient to destroy the privilege of a Member of Parliament.

Thus was the point of privilege determined, and Mr. Wilkes immediately discharged.

(B.)

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' B. iv. 464.

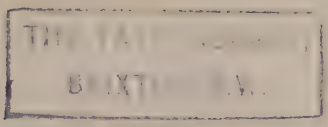
CAVENDISH SQUARE,
May 13, 1763.

MY DEAR MITCHELL,

Nothing is at present talked of here but the affair of a very impudent, worthless man named Wilkes, a Member of Parliament, who was lately taken up by the Secretaries of State for writing a most seditious libel personally attacking the King. This was done by the advice of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, who were of opinion he was not in such a case entitled to privilege. However, the Court of Common Pleas have otherwise determined, and he is set at liberty. . . . The mob are, as usual, for the libeller, who is a kind of Sacheverell. . . .

Most affectionately yours,
BARRINGTON.

P.S.—I am sorry and ashamed to say that Lord —— [*? Temple*] has on this and all similar occasions united himself to Mr. Wilkes and the mob.



SUMMARY OF EVENTS

1715—1763

PART I

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER AND THE WHIG OLIGARCHY.

(a) The Whigs a Court Party.

The Whigs, as the supporters of the Protestant succession, return to power, headed by **Townshend** and **Stanhope**, and impeach their rivals.

1715. The **Riot Act** is passed, on account of several outbreaks in the country.

Jacobite Rising in Scotland under Mar, and in the North of England under Derwentwater and Forster. Argyll meets Mar at **Sheriffmuir** (indecisive). Forster is defeated at **Preston**. **Landing and coronation of the Pretender in Scotland.**

The rising comes to nothing. Derwentwater and others are executed, and the Pretender returns to France.

1716. **Septennial Act** prolongs the Parliament then sitting, so as to avoid an election in a time of disturbance.

1717. **Triple Alliance** between England, France, and Holland against Spain's (**Alberoni's**) possible violation of the Treaty of Utrecht.

1718. Austria joins the allies and thus creates the **Quadruple Alliance.**

Defeat of the Spanish fleet (which had recently seized Sardinia) by Byng, off **Cape Passaro.**

1719. Defeat of a Spanish Jacobite expedition at **Glenshiel.**

1720. The **South Sea Bubble.** The *South Sea Company* undertakes to reduce the National Debt in return for the slave monopoly in the South Seas, and its shares are eagerly bought and rise to many times their value; but the trade of the Company being narrowly limited by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, the price of the shares as rapidly falls, thus causing general panic and ruin.

1721. The directors of the Company are prosecuted, and the leading members of the Government have to resign. But **Walpole** restores credit and alleviates distress by his skilful management of the Company's finances. He becomes head of the administration.

(b) Walpole's Peace Policy.

1722. Detection of a Jacobite plot and banishment of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester.

1724. **Wood's halfpence** causes indignation in Ireland. Wood was granted a monopoly of the Irish copper coinage; the Irish people, especially Dean Swift in *Drapier's Letters*, thought that because the coins were rather light they were being outrageously cheated, and the monopoly was withdrawn.

1727. **Death of George I.** and **accession of GEORGE II.** War with Spain; ended two years later by the Peace of Seville.

1729. The **Methodist Society** formed at Oxford by the **Wesleys.**

1731. England agrees to the **Pragmatic Sanction,** by which the Emperor Charles VI. tries to secure the succession of his daughter Maria Theresa to all his hereditary possessions.

1733. Walpole withdraws his **Excise Scheme** owing to general opposition. The scheme was to transfer wine and tobacco from the Customs to the Excise—*i.e.*, to make the tax payable by the dealer on the amount of the article when taken out from certain Government or *bonded* warehouses rather than to levy it at the port from the importer.

1736. The **Porteous Riots.**
The 'Patriots,' Tories and Whigs discontented with Walpole's jealousy of power, and the 'Boys,' young enthusiasts like William Pitt, unite in opposition to Walpole. They are supported by Frederick, Prince of Wales.

1739. Beginnings of the **Wesleyan Revival.**
Walpole forced by popular clamour into the **War of Jenkins' Ear** against Spain; the Spaniards, to prevent smuggling, insisted on the right to search foreign vessels, and Jenkins' story was that they had boarded his ship, and, although finding no evidence of smuggling, had cut off his ears.
Capture of **Portobello** by Vernon. Commodore **Anson** attacks and loots Spanish merchandise, and then sails round the world.

1740. **War of the Austrian Succession** begun. France, Spain, and several other countries combine against Maria Theresa. English interference is confined at first to a subsidy and the declaration of the neutrality of Hanover.

1741. **Frederick the Great** of Prussia takes possession of **Silesia.**

1742. **Resignation of Walpole.**

(c) War and National Expansion.

1743. England joins in the War, **George** winning **Dettingen** against the French.

1744. The **Broad Bottom Administration** under **Pelham** includes some Tories—for the first time since 1714.

1745. Defeat of the allies at **Fontenoy.**
The **Young Pretender** lands in Scotland, raises the Highlands, has his father proclaimed King at Edinburgh as James VIII., and wins the battle of **Prestonpans.** By the end of the year he had advanced as far south as Derby.

1746. Compelled by his followers to retreat, he wins the battle of **Falkirk**, but is utterly defeated at **Culloden**, and

escapes to France. The rebellion is crushed out by the Duke of Cumberland, and the Highlands pacified.

1748. **Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle** ends the war by a general restoration of conquests and a recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction ; Prussia, however, retains Silesia.

1751. Reform of the Calendar by adopting the **New Style.**
Robert Clive checks French expansion in India by the defence of **Arcot** ; this is followed by the destruction of French influence in the south of India.

1755. Failure of British attempt under Braddock to capture **Fort Duquesne** on the Ohio from the French. Duquesne was one of a line of French forts along the Ohio valley to connect Canada and Louisiana and prevent the English colonies from expanding westwards.

1756. The beginning of the **Seven Years' War**. France, Spain, Austria, and Saxony had several years previously come to an understanding about attacking Prussia, and Prussia and England had made a compact for the former's neutrality in the event of a war between France and England. Events in America and India made war inevitable, and it was declared this year.
Pitt practically leads the Government, with the Duke of Devonshire as nominal Prime Minister.
Surajah Dowlah captures Calcutta and puts his prisoners into the **Black Hole.**

1757. **Battle of Plassey** secures Bengal for England.
Frederick the Great is defeated at **Kolin** and has to retire from Bohemia, but later in the year defeats the French at **Rossbach** and the Austrians at **Leuthen.**
The Duke of Cumberland being defeated at Hastenbeck, agrees by the Convention of **Klosterseven** to withdraw his troops from the war.

1758. The capture of **Fort Duquesne** secures the valley of the Ohio and Western America for British settlers. **Louisburg** and **Cape Breton** are also taken.
In Europe, Frederick, who is in receipt of large British subsidies, defeats the Russians at **Lorndorf**, but is himself defeated at **Hochkirchen.**

1759. English and Hanoverians win the Battle of **Minden,**

while **Hawke** defeats the French fleet in **Quiberon Bay**. **Wolfe** captures **Quebec** and thus decides that Canada is to be British and not French.

1760. Sir Eyre Coote's victory at **Wandewash** secures Madras and gives the death-blow to French influence in India.
Death of George II. and **accession of GEORGE III.**

1761. Pitt is informed of a family compact between France and Spain and proposes to declare war against Spain. His advice is rejected and he resigns, but war is declared at the end of the year.

1762. Pitt is replaced by **Bute**, who works for peace.

1763. The **Treaty of Paris** ends the Seven Years' War; its main features were that England secured—

(i). Canada and her other conquests in N. America;
(ii.) Several islands in the W. Indies;
(iii.) Senegal in Africa;
(iv.) The French withdrawal from India.

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BRIXTON

PART II

INTRODUCTION

1763–1815

THE Age of Revolutions and the Great War filled the long reign of George III. with momentous history.

Of the King himself, of his private virtues and his public shortcomings, many criticisms have been written. It was an age of 'benevolent despots' in Europe. The new emotional humanitarianism preached by Rousseau was being combined with the 'ancien régime' of absolute monarchy in almost every country. George III. had a definite model to follow in Bolingbroke's picture of the 'Patriot King'; but, to one who combined something of the fiery and masterful spirit of George II. with an obstinacy that was almost bucolic, no formula of despotism was ever necessary. An easy method for the establishment of this new phase of tyranny offered itself to the King. Walpole and the Whig lords had used their 'influence' to purchase by money or by patronage a following in the House of Commons and in the country. The Sovereign had at his disposal a patronage far greater than that of any peer or Prime Minister; and he now began to use it to build up a party for himself. A nucleus already existed in the remains of the Tory party, who since the failure of the '45' had largely renounced the Jacobite cause, and were ready to transfer their traditional doctrines of 'divine right' to a Hanoverian despot. This

party of 'King's Friends' was established, and gradually enlarged by a systematic policy of bribery and corruption, denounced continually by Burke and the Whigs, who at least knew something from personal experience of the system they were attacking. The royal influence created a Royalist majority in Parliament, but it completed the demoralization of the Parliamentary system, and, in the storm of revolution which was soon to break, it put the conservative spirit of English reformers to a severe strain.

The first of the revolutionary movements in this political sphere was the revolt of the American Colonies. The causes of this lay far back in the century. The old Colonial system, with its restrictions on the industry and trade of the Colonies, which were regarded as existing solely for the good of the Mother-Country and not at all for their own, was fully exposed by Adam Smith, but only after the American Colonies had been lost. The colonists, bound hand and foot by the restrictions of the Navigation Laws, not unnaturally evaded them by smuggling. The stupid and conscientious Grenville sent frigates to put down this illicit trade; and then, when the smothered rage of the colonists was on the point of bursting into flame, he introduced the Stamp Act. The inevitable result, not long delayed, was the Declaration of Independence, in which the influence of the revolutionary doctrines is for the first time to be traced. There followed the disastrous war in America, lost because, in the Maritime War that accompanied it, England lost her command of the sea.

Almost at once came the Revolutions in France. They started in 1789 with a movement which was

intended only to limit the absolute power of the French monarchy, and to lessen the privileges of the nobles. Englishmen were almost unanimous in sympathizing with a cause which reminded them of their own constitutional achievements against the Stuarts; and Pitt, with equanimity, adopted a policy of sympathetic neutrality in the face of what was the private business of the French nation. But, by 1793, the French Revolution had ceased to be a domestic event; it had gathered headway, and, bursting all bounds, had borne down the 'ancien régime' in France—monarch, noblesse, Church, and all that appertained to them. With the execution of Louis XVI. and his Queen, and the publication of the November Decrees, the revolutionary propaganda became a danger to all Europe. England, hitherto sympathetic, now, save for some few Jacobin clubs, became actively hostile, and the Reflections of Burke expressed the horrified anxiety of the country. All parties, except the Radicals under Fox, united in a reactionary policy which delayed the reforms which Pitt was commencing for more than a quarter of a century. Meanwhile, for the present, the cry was for war with the blood-stained authors of the Terror, and there began, first against the revolutionary spirit, and afterwards against the personal ambitions of Napoleon, the greatest war of modern history.

One other revolution filled this period, of another character, but in some of its political consequences not unconnected with the principles of Rousseau and the downfall of the 'ancien régime' in England. This was the so-called Industrial Revolution. From the middle of the century onwards the slopes of the

Pennine Chain, the low heights of Staffordshire and Leicestershire, and the mountains of South Wales gradually lost their peaceful and unpopulated pastures, and were slowly converted into a busy hive of mechanical industry. There had always been a textile industry for cotton in Lancashire and wool in Yorkshire; but the looms had been worked by hand, and the process was slow and costly. The invention of a power-loom, by which one man could control several looms if the motive power of water was available, was the first great step in the new revolution. A second and greater step was taken, when James Watt's 'fire-engines' from Birmingham, already the centre of a revived iron industry, were introduced into the textile industries, to supply a new and portable, and infinitely more powerful motive power in steam. Everywhere factories sprang up; great towns arose, with social problems which were all the greater because of the rapidity of their development, and the novelty of the conditions. Questions concerning factory abuses, overcrowding, trade unions, the education of the industrial classes, machinery riots, and with them the great question of Parliamentary Reform, now made urgent by the shifting of the political centre of gravity to the north—all clamoured for solution.

But this solution was delayed by the reaction against the French Revolution; and to the irritation at this delay which was hourly growing, there were added the unemployment and distress which followed the end of the great war. After some years of delay came the beginning in England of the Age of Reform, and, with it, the birth of Democracy.

BRIXTON S.W.

ENGLISH HISTORY FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

1763—1815

1. The Revolt of the American Colonies.

(A.)

Adam Smith on the old Colonial System, and especially the Commercial Restrictions on the American Colonies.

Adam Smith, 'Wealth of Nations,'
1775. bk. iv., chap. vii.

The liberality of England towards the trade of her Colonies has been confined chiefly to what concerns the market for their produce, either in its rude state, or in what may be called the very first stage of manufacture. The more advanced, or more refined, manufactures, even of the colony produce, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain chose to reserve to themselves, and have prevailed upon the Legislature to prevent their establishment in the Colonies, sometimes by high duties, and sometimes by absolute prohibitions.

While Great Britain encourages in America the manufactures of pig and bar iron by exempting them from duties to which the like commodities are sub-

jected when imported from any other country, she imposes an absolute prohibition upon the erection of steel furnaces and slit mills in any of her American plantations. She will not suffer her Colonies to work in these more refined manufactures, even for their own consumption; but insists upon their purchasing of her merchants and manufacturers all goods of this kind which they have occasion for.

She prohibits the exportation from one province to another, by water and even the carriage by land, of hats, of wools, and woollen goods, of the produce of America—a regulation which effectually prevents the establishment of any manufacture of such commodities for distant sale, and confines the industry of her colonists to coarse and household manufactures.

To prohibit a great people from making all that they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind.

(B.)

Stamp Act.

'Washington's Letters,'
edited by L. B. Evans, p. 7.

George Washington to Francis Dandridge, London.

MOUNT VERNON,
September 20, 1765.

SIR,

. . . At present few things are under notice of my observation that can afford you any amuse-

ment in the recital. The Stamp Act, imposed on the Colonies by the Parliament of Great Britain, engrosses the conversation of the speculative part of

GEORGE III. (1760-1820).

From painting by Allan Ramsay in National Portrait Gallery.

he colonists, who look upon this unconstitutional method of taxation as a direful attack upon their liberties, and loudly exclaim against the violation.

What may be the result of this, and of some other (I think I may add) ill-judged measures, I will not undertake to determine; but this I may venture to affirm, that the advantage accruing to the Mother-Country will fall greatly short of the expectations of the Ministry. For certain it is that an whole substance does already flow in a manner to Great Britain, and that whatsoever contributes to lessen our importations must be hurtful to their manufacturers. And the eyes of our people, already beginning to open, will perceive that many luxuries, which we lavish our substance in Great Britain for, can well be dispensed with, while the necessaries of life are mostly to be had within ourselves. This consequently, will introduce frugality, and be a necessary stimulation to industry. If Great Britain, therefore, loads her manufacturies with heavy taxes, will it not facilitate these measures? They will not compel us, I think, to give our money for their exports whether we will or not. . . . Where, then, is the utility of these restrictions?

As to the Stamp Act, taken in a single view, one, and the first, bad consequence attending it I take to be this, our courts of judicature must inevitably be shut up; for it is impossible . . . that the Act of Parliament can be complied with, were we ever so willing to enforce the execution; for not to say, which alone would be sufficient, that we have not money to pay the stamps, there are many other cogent reasons to prevent it.

(C.)

The Passive Resistance of the Colonists.

Washington to Bryan Fairfax.

Evans, 'Washington's Writings,' p. 15.

MOUNT VERNON,
July 4, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

. . . As to your political sentiments, I would heartily join you in them, so far as relates to a humble and dutiful petition to the throne, provided there was the most distant hope of success. But have we not tried this already? . . . Does it not appear . . . that there is a regular, systematic plan formed to fix the right and practice of taxation upon us? . . . Do not all the debates in the House of Commons on the side of Government expressly declare that America must be taxed in aid of the British funds? . . . Is there anything to be expected from petitioning after this? Is not the attack upon the liberty and property of the people of Boston, before restitution of the loss to the India Company was demanded, a plain and self-evident proof of what they are aiming at? Do not the subsequent Bills (now, I dare say, Acts) for depriving the Massachusetts Bay of its charter, and for transporting offenders into other colonies or to Great Britain for trial, where it is impossible from the nature of the thing that justice can be obtained, convince us that the Administration is determined to stick at nothing to carry its point? Ought we not, then, to put our virtue and fortitude to the severest test?

. . . I think we may do more than is generally believed in respect to the non-importation scheme. As to the withholding of our remittances, that is another point on which I own I have my doubts on several accounts, but principally on that of justice; for I think whilst we are accusing others of injustice we should be just ourselves; and how this can be, whilst we owe a considerable debt, and refuse payment of it, to Great Britain, is to me inconceivable. Nothing but the last extremity can, I think, justify it. Whether this is now come is the question. . . .

(D.)

Burke's View of the Taxation of the Colonies.

1774. Parliamentary History, vol. for 1774.

Could anything be a subject of more just alarm to America than to see you go out of the plain high-road of finance, and give up your most certain revenues and your clearest interests, merely for the sake of insulting your Colonies? No man ever doubted that the commodity of tea could bear an imposition of threepence. But no commodity will bear threepence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the Colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden when called upon for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's future? No; but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was

demanded, would have made him a slave. . . . It is then, Sir, upon the *principle* of this measure, and nothing else, that we are at issue. It is a principle of political expediency. Your Act of 1767 asserts that it is expedient to raise a revenue in America; your Act of 1769, which takes away that revenue, contradicts the Act of 1767, and, by something much stronger than words, asserts that it is not expedient. . . . You are therefore at this moment in the awkward situation of fighting for a phantom, a quiddity, a thing that wants not only a substance but even a name, for a thing which is neither abstract right nor profitable enjoyment. . . . They tell you, Sir, that your dignity is tied to it. I know not how it happens, but this dignity of yours is a terrible encumbrance to you, for it has of late been ever at war with your interest, your equity, and every idea of your policy.

(E.)

Chatham's Attitude on the Question of Trade Restriction.

Mahon, 'History of England,' vol. v., Appendix, p. xli.

From Mr. Johnson, Agent for Connecticut, to Governor Trumbull.

LONDON,
March 6, 1770.

. . . Lord Chatham said in debate three nights before:

'I have been thought to be, perhaps, too much the friend of America. I own I am a friend to that country. I love the Americans because they love

liberty, and I love them for the noble efforts they made in the last war. But I must own I find fault with them in many things. I think they carry matters too far; they have been wrong in many respects. I think the idea of drawing money from them by taxes was ill-judged. Trade is your object with them, and they should be encouraged. But (I wish every sensible American . . . heard what I say) if they carry their notions of liberty too far, as I fear they do, . . . especially if they would disengage themselves from the laws of trade and navigation, of which I see too many symptoms, as much of an American as I am, they have not a more determined opposer than they will find in me. They must be subordinate. In all laws relating to trade and navigation especially, this is the Mother-Country, they are the children; they must obey, and we prescribe. . . . And if you do not make laws for them, let me tell you, my Lords, they do, they will, they must, make laws for you.'

(F.)

The Declaration of Independence, 1776.

Jared Sparks, 'Life of George Washington,' i. 453.

Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, July 4.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and

of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and whenever any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, or to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object

the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. . . .

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their pretended Acts of Legislation.

> . . . For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;
>
> For imposing taxes on us without our consent;
>
> For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury;
>
> For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;
>
> . . . For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;
>
> For suspending our own Legislatures and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A King whose character is thus

marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. . . .

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare: That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved. . . . And for the support of this declaration, and with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

Signed by order, and in behalf of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

Attest., CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*

(G.)

Dr. Benjamin Franklin to a Friend on the American Revolt.

'Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin,' ii. 51 (London, 1818).

PARIS, 1777.

I long laboured in England with great zeal and incerity to prevent the breach that has happened, nd which is now so wide that no endeavours of nine can possibly heal it. You know the treatment met with from that imprudent Court; but I keep

a separate account of private injuries, which I may forgive; and I do not think it is right to mix them with public affairs. Indeed, there is no occasion for their aid to whet my resentment against a nation that has burnt our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, has excited the savages to assassinate our innocent farmers, with their wives and children, and our slaves to murder their masters! It would therefore be deceiving you if I suffered you to remain in the supposition you have taken up, that I am come to Europe to make peace. I am, in fact, ordered hither by the Congress for a very different purpose—viz., to procure such aids from European Powers for enabling us to defend our freedom and independence, which it is certainly their interest to grant, as by that means the great and rapidly growing trade of America will be open to them all, and not a monopoly to Great Britain as heretofore—a monopoly that, if she is suffered again to possess, will be such an increase of her strength by sea, and if she can reduce us again to submission, she will have thereby so great an addition to her strength by land, as will, together, make her the most formidable Power the world has yet seen; and from her natural pride and insolence in prosperity, of all others, the most intolerable.

(H.)

Horace Walpole on the American War.

Horace Walpole; 'Letters.'

(1)

February 2, 1774.

We have no news, public or private; but there is an ostrich egg laid in America, where the Bostonians

have carted three hundred chests of tea into the ocean, for they will not drink tea with our Parliament. My understanding is so narrow, and was confined so long to the little meridian of England, that at this late hour of life it cannot extend itself to such huge objects as East and West Indies, though everybody else is acquainted with those continents, as well as with the map of Great Britain. Lord Chatham talked of conquering America in Germany; I believe England will be conquered some day or other in New England or Bengal.

(2)

After Saratoga.

February 18, 1778.

Peace is not made—it is only implored—and, I fear, only on this side of the Atlantic. In short, yesterday, February 17, Lord North opened his conciliatory plan — no partial, no collusive one. In as few words as I can use, it solicits peace with the States of America; it haggles on no terms; it acknowledges the Congress, or anyone else that pleases to treat; it confesses errors, misinformation, ill-success, and impossibility of conquest; it disclaims taxation, desires commerce, hopes for assistance, allows the independence of America. . . .

(3)

February 20, 1778.

In sooth, I cannot tell you what is thought. Nobody knows what to think. To leap at once from an obstinacy of four years to a total concession of everything; to stoop so low without hopes of being

forgiven—who can understand such a transformation? . . . All that remains certain is that America is not only lost, but given up. We must no longer give ourselves Continental airs! I fear even our trident will find it has lost a considerable prong.

(4)

After Yorktown.

November 27, 1781.

I not only grow so old, but the symptoms of age increase so fast that, as they advise me to keep out of the world, that retirement makes me less fit to be informing or entertaining. . . . The age, it is true, soon emerges out of every gloom, and wantons as before. But does not that levity imprint a still deeper melancholy on those who do think? . . . When did England see two whole armies lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners? . . . Is not America lost to us? . . . Yet it was not six days ago that I saw in the papers an account of the opera, and of the dresses of the company . . . and the nation were informed that Mr. Fitzpatrick had very little powder in his hair.

Would not one think that our newspapers were penned by boys just come from school for the information of their sisters and cousins? Had we had *Gazettes* or *Morning Posts* in those days, would they have been filled with such tittle-tattle after the Battle of Agincourt, or in the more resembling weeks after the Battle of Naseby? Did the French trifle equally even during the ridiculous war of the Fronde? If they were as impertinent then, at least they had wit in their levity. We are monkeys in conduct, and

as clumsy as bears when we try to gambol. I have no patience with my country! . . . Can we be proud when all Europe scorns us? It was wont to envy us, sometimes to hate us, but never despised us before. James I. was contemptible, but he did not lose an America! His elder grandson sold us, his younger lost us—but we kept ourselves. Now we have run to meet the ruin, and it is coming.

(5)

January 22, 1783.

You know to be sure that peace [*Peace of Versailles*] is arrived. I cannot express how glad I am. I care not a straw what the terms are. . . . I am not apt to love details—my wish was to have peace, and the next, to see America secure of its liberty. Whether it will make good use of it is another point. It has an opportunity, that never occurred in the world before, of being able to select the best parts of every known constitution; but I suppose it will not, as too prejudiced against Royalty to adopt it even as a corrective of aristocracy and democracy, though *our* system has proved that every evil had better have two enemies to contend with than one, as the third may turn the scale on every emergency; but when the one defeats the only other, it is decisive. In short, it is necessary there should be Government, but that Government should be checked as much as those it controls; for one man, or a few, or a multitude, are still men, and consequently not fit to be trusted with unlimited power.

2. Burke on Chatham's Later Ministry.

1766. 'Anecdotes of Chatham,' iii. 372.

Lord Chatham—a great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the globe. It may be truly called—

> '. . . Clarum et venerabile nomen
> Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.'

Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind, and, more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. . . . But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament. For a wise man, he seemed to me at that time, to be governed too much by general maxims. One or two of these maxims led him into measures that were greatly mischievous to himself, and for that reason, among others, fatal to his country—measures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable. He made an Administration [*in* 1766] so checkered and speckled, he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed, such a piece of diversified Mosaic, such a tesselated pavement without cement—here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white—patriots and courtiers, King's friends and Republicans, Whigs and Tories, treacherous friends and open enemies—that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted

at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, 'Sir, your name? Sir, you have the advantage of me. Mr. Such-a-one—I beg a thousand pardons.' I venture to say it did so happen that persons had a single office divided between them who had never spoken to each other in their lives, until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together in the same truckle-bed.

3. Lord George Gordon Riots.

1780. *Gentleman's Magazine*, l. 265.

The application to Parliament a few years ago from a considerable body of conscientious divines for some alteration in the liturgy of the Church of England gave occasion, it is probable, to the community of Roman Catholics to review the state in which they stood with regard to the penal laws . . . and legally petition for relief. The penalties to which they were liable, it must be confessed, were intolerable. . . . Persons professing the Popish religion and keeping schools or taking upon themselves the education or boarding of youth were liable to perpetual imprisonment. But what was still more severe, not to say unchristian, Roman Catholics were rendered incapable of inheriting by descent, if any of the next of kin, being Protestants, claimed the inheritance. . . . At laws such as these human nature revolts, and it was thought just, in this enlightened age, to repeal them. . . . Accordingly Sir George Savile undertook the task, made the motion for the tolerating Bill, and carried it through the House without a division. . . .

The Papists, elated with the favours that had been granted them, instead of prudently and thankfully enjoying the blessings of freedom from penalties that were judged hard to be borne, began to abuse their new privileges . . . and became more earnest than ever in preaching . . . and making proselytes. To this it was owing that an Association of worthy Protestants was established, with a view only to endeavour by legal means to obtain security against the abuse of the law that had passed in favour of Catholics, but not to deprive them of the benefits of it. A deputation from this Association waited upon the Ministry with their complaints. . . . They were courteously received, and dismissed with hopes. In the meantime disturbances broke out in Scotland on the bare rumour that similar indulgences were to be granted to Papists in that country, as had been procured for them in England. . . .

The proceedings of the Protestant Association of London about this time remained in suspense, which induced Lord George Gordon to put himself at the head of it. . . . He rashly conceived that a formidable appearance of Protestant people was the only means to secure success to their petition; . . . but he did not foresee the difficulty and danger that would attend dispersing them. . . .

On Sunday in the afternoon the rabble met in Moorfields, and collected a body of several thousands, who, on the cry of 'No Papists! Root out Popery!' presently attacked the Popish chapel in Ropemaker's Alley, the inside of which they totally demolished. . . . Some few accidents happened on the approach of the military, but no person was this night killed

by the soldiers. Encouraged by this lenity, they began on Monday, as might well be expected, to grow more daring and desperate. . . . They now threatened the destruction of all who should oppose them. . . . They destroyed the Popish chapels in their respective routes, insulted the Catholics, plundered their houses, brought out and set fire to their furniture, and threatened extirpation to the whole sect. . . . During the four days of which we have been speaking, the Lords, Commons, magistrates, and persons in power . . . seemed to be panic-struck. . . .

On Tuesday, the 6th June . . . in the evening, about seven o'clock, the rioters resenting the activity of Justice Hyde, a detached party attacked his house, stript it of the furniture, and burnt it before his door. Newgate was now their next concern. . . . They called upon the keeper to release their comrades. . . . This he peremptorily refused to do, and the gaol was set on fire. . . . It is scarce to be credited with what celerity the gaol was destroyed by the flames, . . . nor is it less astonishing that, from a prison thus in flames, a miserable crew of felons in irons could all be liberated as it were by magic. . . . But it is not at all to be wondered, that by a body of execrable villains thus let loose upon the public, the house of that worthy and active magistrate, Sir John Fielding, should be the first marked for vengeance, and . . . the contents committed to the flames. . . .

What followed might be expected. . . . The prisoners in the New Prison of Clerkenwell were dismissed, and the number of incendiaries thereby

augmented. Regular notices were sent to the other prisons at what time the inhabitants might expect enlargement. Those in the Fleet begged not to be turned out at so late an hour on Tuesday night, and the compassionate mob consented not to burn the prison till the night following. In the meantime Lord Petre's house in Park Lane, with the houses of several Catholics in obscure parts of the town, were among the triumphs . . . of the mob, who were now masters of the Cities of London and Westminster.

On Wednesday . . . about seven in the evening, the rioters began their diabolical works. The King's Bench and Fleet prisons, the Borough Clink and the Surrey Bridewell were all in flames about the same time, and their inhabitants let loose to assist in the general devastation. . . . With those who beheld this awful scene the impression will long remain. Let those who were not spectators call to their imagination flames ascending and rolling in vast voluminous clouds . . . the tremendous roar of those infernal miscreants inflamed with liquor . . . and the repeated reports of the loaded musquetry dealing death among the thronging multitude. . . .

Thursday, the 8th, was truly a day of humiliation to the citizens of London. Though the appearance of the military in every street had secured them against the rioters, they had not yet recovered their usual gaiety. . . . Not only were their shops unopened, but their doors were scrawled over with chalk, intimating that they were no Papists, and their windows decorated with blue flags, to denote the inhabitants within friends to the Protestant cause.

On Friday, the 9th, the shops in the City were opened as usual. . . . Lord George Gordon was committed quietly to the Tower, . . . and the phrenzy that had possessed the people terminated by strengthening the hands of the Government.

4. George III. and the Coalition Ministry.

Letter of George III. to Lord Temple, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

'Grenville Papers,' vol. i.

Queen's House,
April 1, 1783.

My Lord,

. . . An experience of now above twenty-two years convinces me that it is impossible to erect a stable Administration within the narrow bounds of any faction, for none deserve the appellation of party; and that in an age when disobedience to law and authority is as prevalent as a thirst after changes in the best of all political constitutions, it requires temper and sagacity to stem these evils, which can alone be expected from a collection of the best and most calm heads and hearts the kingdom possesses.

Judge, therefore, of the uneasiness of my mind at having been thwarted in every attempt to keep the administration of public affairs out of the hands of the most unprincipled coalition the annals of this or any other nation can equal. I have withstood it till not a single man is willing to come to my assistance, and till the House of Commons has taken every step but insisting on this faction being by name elected Ministers. . . .

A Ministry which I have avowedly attempted to avoid, by calling on every other description of men, cannot be supposed to have either my favour or my confidence; and as such I shall most certainly refuse any honours they may ask for. I trust that the eyes of the nation will soon be opened, as my sorrow may prove fatal to my health if I remain long in this thraldom. . . .

GEORGE R.

5. THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE KING'S ILLNESS.

Letter from Mr. W. W. Grenville to the Marquis of Buckingham (Lord Temple).

'Grenville Papers.'
vol. ii.

MY DEAR BROTHER, *November*, 1788.

I have written to you by this day's post, and now take the opportunity of Lord Sydney's messenger. I am afraid that it would be very sanguine indeed to say that there is even *any* hope that the King will recover both his health and his understanding, though the physicians do not say that it is absolutely impossible for his disorder to have a crisis which may produce such an effect. . . . If his indisposition of mind continues, without some more material bodily illness, he may live years in this melancholy state; and this, of all events that can happen, is perhaps the most to be feared. He was, however, thought yesterday to be in imminent danger of death. Should this not happen, but the other

it seems generally agreed that the Prince of Wales must be appointed Regent, with kingly power.

We [*i.e., Pitt and his party*] have no grounds to judge of our own situation, except from such conjectures as you are equally able to form on the ground of the P.'s former conduct and language.

He sent yesterday for Thurlow to Windsor; and about half an hour ago Pitt received a note from the Chancellor, who is returned to Town, saying that the P. had commanded him to desire Pitt's attendance at Windsor to-morrow morning at eleven. Pitt is gone to call upon the Chancellor to learn the nature of his conversation of yesterday. We understood that the object of his going down yesterday was only that he might be consulted as to the steps that might safely be taken with the King in his present unhappy situation. The message of to-day looks like something more, though it seems too early for any negotiation, even if other considerations made that probable.

Fox is out of England, but has, as we understand, been sent for. It appears a great question whether they will offer any negotiation, or, if they do, what measures ought to be pursued. I think the opinions rather lean to the idea that Pitt cannot at once decline all negotiation, but that he will be sufficiently grounded in refusing to listen to any proposal that shall not leave him in his present situation, from whence he cannot be removed without disgrace and degradation. . . .

Ever most affectionately yours,

W. W. G.

6. The Industrial Revolution.

(A.)

Cartwright's Power-Loom, 1785.

From a letter to Mr. Bannatyne, printed in 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

Happening to be at Matlock in the summer of 1784, I fell in company with some gentlemen of Manchester, when the conversation turned on Arkwright's spinning machinery. One of the company observed that as soon as Arkwright's patent expired, so many mills would be erected, and so much cotton spun, that hands never could be found to weave it. To this observation I replied that Arkwright must then set his wits to work to invent a weaving-mill. This brought on a conversation on the subject, in which the Manchester gentlemen unanimously agreed that the thing was impracticable; and they adduced arguments which I certainly was incompetent to answer . . . being totally ignorant of the subject, having never at that time seen a person weave. . . . Some little time afterwards, a particular circumstance recalling this conversation to my mind, it struck me that, as in plain weaving, according to the conception I then had of the business, there could only be three movements . . . there would be little difficulty in producing and repeating them. Full of these ideas I immediately employed a carpenter and a smith to carry them into effect. As soon as the machine was finished, I got a weaver to put in the warp, which was of such materials as sailcloth is usually made of.

A HAND-LOOM AND SPINNING-WHEEL BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

Reproduced from one of Mr. Francis S. Walker's coloured illustrations in the book on Ireland by Frank Mathew, published by A. and C. Black, Soho Square, London.

To my great delight, a piece of cloth, such as it was, was the produce. As I had never before turned my thoughts to anything mechanical . . . nor had ever seen a loom at work . . . you will readily suppose that my first loom was a most rude piece of machinery. The warp was placed perpendicularly, the reed fell with the weight of at least half a hundredweight, and the springs which threw the shuttle were strong enough to have thrown a Congreve rocket. In short, it required the strength of two powerful men to work the machine at a slow rate, and only for a short time. Conceiving, in my great simplicity, that I had accomplished all that was required, I secured . . . a patent, April 4, 1785. This being done, I condescended to see how other people wove; and you will guess my astonishment when I compared their easy modes of operation with mine. Availing myself, however, of what I then saw, I made a loom, in its general principles, nearly as they are now made. . . .

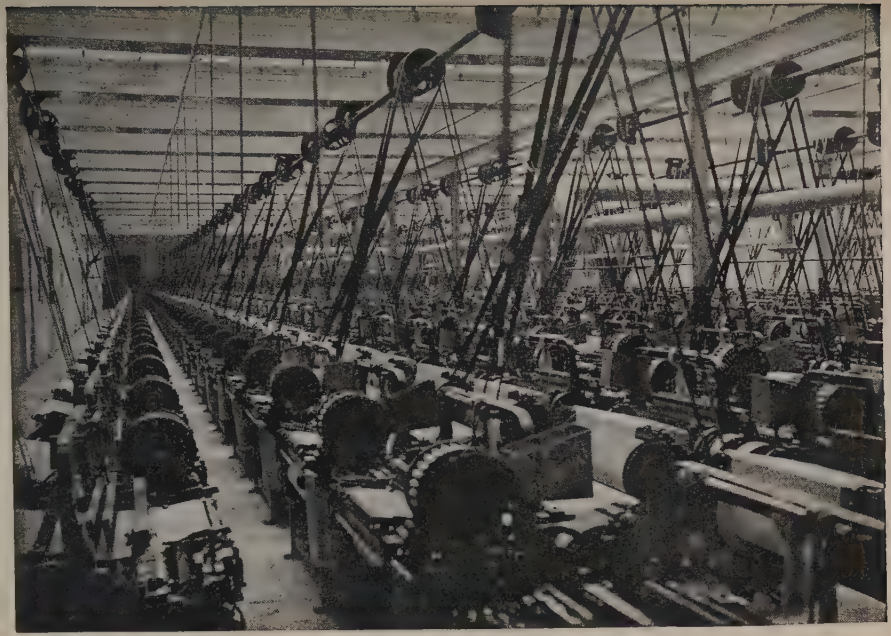
EDMUND CARTWRIGHT.

(B.)

Expansion of Manufactures after Machinery Inventions.

About 1800. Radcliffe, 'Origin of the New System of Manufacture,' p. 66 (1828).

These families, up to the time I have been speaking of, whether as cottagers or small farmers, had supported themselves by the different occupations I have mentioned in spinning and manufacturing, as their progenitors from the earliest institutions of society had done before them. But the mule-twist



INTERIOR OF A MODERN COTTON MILL.

By permission of the British Northrop Loom Co., Ltd., Blackburn.

now coming into vogue, added to the water-twist and common jenny-yarns, with an increasing demand for every fabric the loom could produce, put all hands in request, of every age and description. The fabrics made from wool or linen vanished, while the old loom-shops being insufficient, every lumber room, even old barns, cart-houses, and out-buildings of any description were repaired. Windows broke through the old blank walls, and all was fitted up for loom-shops. This source of making room being at length exhausted, new weavers' cottages with loom-shops rose up in every direction; all immediately filled, and when in full work the weekly circulation of money . . . rose to five times the amount ever before experienced . . . every family bringing home weekly 40, 60, 80, 100, or even 120 shillings per week. . . . This money in its peregrinations left something in the pockets of every stonemason, carpenter, slater, plasterer, glazier, joiner, etc., as well as the . . . shopkeepers of every description.

(C.)

Coal Mining and Iron Manufacture.

About 1770. Arthur Young, 'A Six Months' Tour,' iii. 8.

The people employed in the coal-mines are prodigiously numerous, amounting to many thousands; the earnings of the men are from 1s. to 4s. a day and their firing. The coal-waggon roads, from the pits to the water, are great works, carried over all sorts of inequalities of ground, so far as the distance of nine or ten miles. The tracks of the wheels are

marked with pieces of timber let into the road for the wheels of the waggons to run on, by which means one horse is enabled to draw, and that with ease, fifty or sixty bushels of coal. . . .

About five miles from Newcastle are the ironworks . . . supposed to be among the greatest manufactories of the kind in Europe. Several hundred hands are employed in it, insomuch that £20,000 a year is paid in wages. They earn from 1s. to 2s. 6d. a day, and some of the foremen as high as £200 a year. The quantity of iron they work up is very great, employing three ships to the Baltic, that each makes ten voyages yearly, and brings seventy tons at a time. . . .

During the war their business was extremely great; it was worse upon the peace. But, for anchors and mooring-chains the demand these last seven or eight years has been very regular and spirited. Their business, however, for some time past, has not been equal to what it was in the war.

(D.)

Wages in 1795.

Sir F. Eden, 'State of the Poor,' vol. i., p. 571 (London, 1797).

Northumberland.

About sixty years ago reapers in this country received 4d. a day and victuals; forty years ago they received 6d. a day and diet; these wages continued for several years much the same. A. Young, in his 'Northern Tour,' states agricultural wages to have been, thirty years ago, from 5s. 2d. to 8s. 9d. Wages

kept advancing, irregularly, till last year, when they were generally 2s. a day, without victuals. An old tailor in the neighbourhood of Morpeth, who is now upwards of ninety, says that when he was between twenty and thirty years of age 4d. per day were the common wages for men in this line of business; that, a few years afterwards, they rose to 6d., which were the highest day-wages he ever took for sewing; common tailors in Morpeth now receive 1s. a day and their victuals. He adds, that although the usual day's pay for a reaper, when he was young, was 4d., he and a partner, being remarkably good reapers, demanded 6d. the day, which their employer at last agreed to give, although his wife grumbled at what she thought was extravagance. However, to reconcile matters, the tailor proposed that he and his partner should do as much work in a day as three of the farmer's best reapers usually performed, which was assented to. Common labourers, sixty years ago, barely received 4d. a day and victuals; they have now 10s. a week, with a house and fuel, but no board. Spinners of wool, thirty years ago, had 2d. a day and board; they have now 4d. a day and victuals. About fifty years ago they only received 9d. a week and diet. Women working in the fields as weeders, etc., thirty years ago had 4d. a day without diet; they have now double that sum. Masons, in Newcastle, forty years ago, were paid 1s. 4d. and 1s. 6d. a day; they now receive 2s. 6d. and 2s. 9d. A mason's labourer, forty years ago, had 1s.; he has now 1s. 6d. a day.

(E.)

The Growth of Manchester.

About 1800. Gough, 'Camden's Britannia,' ed. 1806, iii. 384.

The trade of Manchester has increased wonderfully since the introduction of the cotton machines invented or adopted by Mr., afterwards Sir Richard, Arkwright, who established the first manufactory here, the machinery of which was worked by a steam-engine. Since that time engines have been erected and manufactories established on most extensive plans, not only at Manchester, but at many other places.

Manchester may be called the largest village in England. In 1773 a survey of Manchester was executed with accuracy, which says that the whole parish contained 2,371 houses, 2,525 families, and 13,786 inhabitants. At Christmas in 1788 the numbers by enumeration were in Manchester and Salford reckoned at 50,000. During 1791 the christenings amounted to 2,960 and the burials to 2,286, which by the common mode of calculation will give from 65,000 to 74,000 inhabitants, an increase almost incredible. Though neither a corporation, being governed only by a constable, nor a borough, it has the greatest trade of any inland town in these northern parts. The fustian or cotton manufacture has been much improved of late by some inventions of dyeing and printing, and this, with the great variety of other manufactures, known by the name of *Manchester wares*, renders both the town and parish and the neighbourhood for many miles round rich, populous, and industrious. . . .

(F.)

Machinery Riots.

(1)

Gentleman's Magazine, May, 1812, p. 479.

With much regret we record the following instances of tumultuous outrage, which have occurred in various parts of the country. Forty men in a body entered a shearing-mill at Rawden on March 23 and destroyed the machinery, etc. Similar acts of outrage were committed at Leeds on the 25th. . . . A letter from Heckmondwike, near Leeds, states that a numerous party had attacked Mr. Cartwright's mill . . . who, being a spirited man, was well prepared for them, and after several shots had been fired, the invaders drew off and disappeared. On the 9th the cloth manufactory of Mr. J. Foster of Horbury was surrounded by a large body of armed men, who destroyed all the shears and frames employed in the dressing of cloth, materially injured the machinery of the scribbling-mills and weaving-shops, and broke all the cast-iron window-frames. At the commencement of these outrages a detachment invested the dwelling-house occupied by Mr. Foster's sons, . . . and treated them with brutal violence. . . . They afterwards set fire to the house. . . .

(2)

The Times, April 14, 1812.

There is nothing of a more marked and distinct character in the account of the disturbances in this

day's paper than there was in that of Saturday. The whole, we think, will subside quietly, provided proper firmness be shown on the part of the provincial magistracy. There is never any just cause for riot, because riot can never do other than increase the evil which it affects to remedy. The price of grain is not near so great as it has been in some former years; and if it should be thought that the want of work renders the manufacturer [*artisan*] less able to purchase it, we must observe that the chief riots in the manufacturing places are not from scarcity, but from dislike to particular machines. These are the most wanton, and ought to be the most severely punished. On the contrary, at Carlisle, where there has been a riot from the want of corn, we know not that there are any great body of manufacturers thrown out of employment by the state of the Continent. It is therefore, we are strongly convinced, an error in the public mind, more than any extraordinary pressure, that has produced the disturbances generally; and it is, therefore, the more likely that they will subside under proper management.

(G.)

The First Factory Act, 1802.

'Statutes at Large,' 42 Geo. III., cap. 73.

Whereas it hath of late become a practice in cotton and woollen mills to employ a great number of apprentices and other persons in the same building, in consequence of which certain regulations are become necessary to preserve the health and morals

of such apprentices and other persons; be it therefore enacted, etc. . . . That all such mills and factories shall be subject to the several rules and regulations contained in this Act. . . .

II. . . . That all the rooms in any such mill or factory shall, twice at least in each year, be well and sufficiently washed with quicklime and water; and that due care shall be paid to provide a sufficient number of windows. . . .

IV. . . . That no apprentice shall be employed or compelled to work for more than twelve hours in any one day exclusive of the time that may be occupied by such apprentice in eating the necessary meals.

VI. . . . That every such apprentice shall be instructed, in some part of every working day, for the first four years, at least, of his apprenticeship, in reading, writing, and arithmetic. . . .

VIII. . . . That every apprentice for the space of one hour at least every Sunday shall be instructed and examined in the principles of the Christian religion.

IX. . . . That the Justices of the Peace shall yearly appoint two persons to be visitors of such mills or factories. . . .

X. . . . That in case the said visitors shall find that any infectious disorder prevails in any mill or factory . . . it shall be lawful for them to require the master to call in forthwith some physician. . .

7. The Need for Parliamentary Reform.

(A.)

The Times, June, 1796.

Election for *Launceston, Cornwall.* Candidates: Hon. Mr. Rawdon, Mr. Brogden. The numbers were as follows:

Hon. Mr. Rawdon and Mr. Brogden -	12
Dalkeith and Garthshore - - -	11

This contest here was a hard-fought battle between the Duke of Northumberland and the Duke of Buccleugh. Both parties have spent a great deal of money, but the former has carried the day.

Shrewsbury Election.—The state of the Poll on Monday was as follows: Sir W. Pulteney, 1,607; John Hill, Esq., 834; Hon. W. Hill, 832. The election, it is thought, will cost Sir Richard Hill £100,000. The expense to each party is about £1,000 per day.

(B.)

Purchasing a Seat in Parliament.

June 27, 1807. Sir Samuel Romilly, 'Memoirs' (London, 1840), ii. 200-202.

I shall procure myself a seat in the new Parliament, unless I find that it will cost so large a sum, as, in the state of my family, it would be very imprudent for me to devote to such an object, which I find is very likely to be the case. Tierney, who manages this business for the friends of the late administration, assures me that he can hear of no seats to be disposed of. After a Parliament which

has lived little more than four months, one would naturally suppose, that those seats which are regularly sold by the proprietors of them would be very cheap; they are, however, in fact, sold now at a higher price than was ever given for them before. Tierney tells me that he has offered £10,000 for the two seats of Westbury, the property of the late Lord Abingdon, and which are to be made the most of by trustees for creditors, and has met with a refusal. £6,000 and £5,500 have been given for seats with no stipulation as to time, or against the event of a speedy dissolution by the King's death, or by any change of administration. The truth is, that the new Ministers have bought up all the seats that were to be disposed of, and at any prices. Amongst others, Sir C. H. ——, the great dealer in boroughs, has sold all he had to Ministers. With what money all this is done I know not, but it is supposed that the King, who has greatly at heart to preserve this new administration, the favourite objects of his choice, has advanced a very large sum out of his privy purse.

This buying of seats is detestable; and yet it is almost the only way in which one in my situation, who is resolved to be an independent man, can get into Parliament. To come in by a popular election, in the present state of the representation, is quite impossible; to be placed there by some great lord, and to vote as he shall direct, is to be in a state of complete dependence; and nothing hardly remains but to owe a seat to the sacrifice of a part of one's fortune. It is true that many men who buy seats, do it as a matter of pecuniary speculation, as a profitable way of employing their money; they carry on a

political trade; they buy their seats, and sell their votes. For myself, I can truly say that, by giving money for a seat, I shall make a sacrifice of my private property, merely that I may be enabled to serve the public. I know what danger there is of men's disguising from themselves the real motives of their actions; but it really does appear to me that it is from this motive alone that I act.

May 9th.—After almost despairing of being able to get any seat in Parliament, my friend Piggott has at last procured me one; and the Duke of Norfolk has consented to bring me in for Horsham. It is however but a precarious seat. I shall be returned, as I shall have a majority of votes, which the late committee of the House of Commons decided to be good ones; but there will be a petition against the return, by the candidates who will stand on Lady Irwin's interest, and it is extremely doubtful what will be the event of the petition. . . .

12th.—The terms upon which I have my seat at Horsham will be best explained by a letter I wrote to Piggott to-day after the election was over, and which I am glad to keep a copy of. 'If I keep the seat, either by the decision of a committee upon a petition, or by a compromise (the Duke and Lady Irwin returning one member each, in which case it is understood that I am to be the member who continues), I am to pay £2,000; if, upon a petition, I lose the seat, I am not to be at any expense.'

8. 'A Sketch of Pitt.'

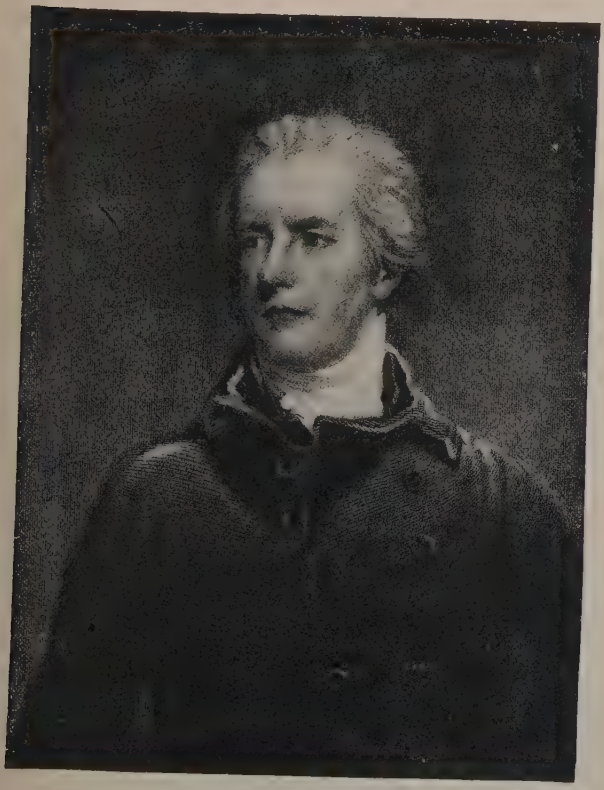
1821. 'Private Papers of William Wilberforce,' p. 61.

Mr. Pitt's intellectual powers were of the highest order, and in private no less than in public, when he was explaining his sentiments in any complicated question . . . it was impossible not to admire the clearness of his conceptions, the precision with which he contemplated every particular object and a variety of objects without confusion. They who have had occasion to discuss political questions with him in private will acknowledge that there never was a fairer reasoner, never anyone more promptly recognizing and allowing its full weight to every argument which was urged against the opinion he had embraced. You always saw *where* you differed from him and *why*. . . . In taking an estimate of Mr. Pitt's intellectual powers, his extraordinary memory ought to be specially noticed. . . . His great rival, Mr. Fox, was also endowed with a memory which to myself used to appear perfectly wonderful. . . . Such was his (Pitt's) recollection of the great classical authors of antiquity, that scarcely a passage could be quoted from their works with which he was not so familiar as to be able to take up the clue and go on with what immediately followed. . . .

He had great natural courage and fortitude. . . . I think it was from this source, combined with that of his naturally sanguine temper, that . . . he never was harassed or distressed by public affairs, and till his last illness, when his bodily powers were almost

utterly exhausted, his inward emotions never appeared to cloud his spirits. . . .

It cannot perhaps be affirmed that he was



WILLIAM PITT (1759-1806).

together free from pride, but great natural shyness d even awkwardness (French *gaucherie*) often pro- ced effects for which pride was falsely charged on

him. . . . From most of the acknowledged effects of pride he was eminently free. No man ever listened more attentively to what was stated against his own opinions; no man was ever more kind and indulgent to his inferiors of every class, and never were there any of those little acts of superciliousness or indifference to the feelings and comforts of others, by which secret pride is sometimes betrayed. . . .

But notwithstanding all my admiration of Mr. Pitt's extraordinary powers . . . and his public spirit and patriotism, I cannot but think that even his uncommon excellencies were not without some alloy of human infirmity. In particular, he appeared to me to be defective in his knowledge of human nature, or that he was less sagacious than might have been expected from his superior talents, in his estimate of future events, and sometimes in his judgment of character. . . . If I must be honest, I must also confess that . . . I have sometimes been almost ready to believe that powers far inferior to his, under the direction of a mind equally sincere and equally warm in its zeal for the public good, might have been the instrument of conferring far greater benefits on his country.

9. The Period of the French Revolution.

(A.)

Pitt's Views in 1789—*Neutrality.*

1789. . . . From a speech, quoted by Stanhope, 'Life of Pitt,' ii. 48.

The present convulsions in France must sooner or later terminate in general harmony and regular order; and, though such a situation might make her more formidable, it might also make her less obnoxious as a neighbour. I wish for the restoration of tranquillity in that country, although it appears to me distant. Whenever her system shall become restored, if it should prove freedom rightly understood, freedom resulting from good order and good government, France would stand forward as one of the most brilliant Powers in Europe. Nor can I regard with envious eyes any approximation in neighbouring States to those sentiments which are the characteristics of every British subject.

(B.)

Pitt's Justification for the War of 1793-1815.

1800. Parliamentary History.

The observation with which the honourable gentleman [*Mr. Hervey*] concluded his speech appears to me one of the strangest I ever heard advanced, and first challenges my attention. He defies me to state in one sentence what is the object of the war. I know not whether I can do it in one sentence; but in one word I can tell him that it is SECURITY—

security against a danger, the greatest that ever threatened the world; which never existed in any past period of society; which threatened all the nations of the earth; which has been resisted by all the nations of Europe, and resisted by none with so much success as by this nation. . . . This country alone, of all the nations of Europe, presented barriers the best fitted to resist its progress. We alone recognized the necessity of open war as well with the principles as the practice of the French Revolution. We saw that it was to be resisted no less by arms abroad than by precaution at home; that we were to look for protection no less to the courage of our forces than to the wisdom of our councils; no less to military effort than to legislative enactment. At the moment when those who now admit the dangers of Jacobinism, while they contend that it is extinct, used to palliate its atrocity and extenuate its mischief, this House wisely saw that it was necessary to erect a double safeguard against a danger that wrought no less by undisguised hostility than by secret machination. But how long is it since the honourable gentleman and his friends have discovered that the dangers of Jacobinism have ceased to exist? . . . How or where did the honourable gentleman discover that the Jacobinism of Robespierre, of Barrère, the Jacobinism of the Triumvirate, the Jacobinism of the Five Directors, has all vanished and disappeared, because it has all been centred and condensed into one man, who was reared and nursed in its bosom, whose celebrity was gained under its auspices, who was at once the child and the champion of all its atrocities and horrors? Jacobinism is

allowed formerly to have existed, because the power was divided. Now it is single, and it no longer lives. This discovery is new, and I know not how it was made.

(C.)

Burke's Views.

(1)

1790. From a speech quoted by Stanhope, 'Life of Pitt,' ii. 47.

Since the House was prorogued in the summer much work has been done in France. The French have shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto existed in the world. In that very short space of time they have completely pulled down to the ground their Monarchy, their Church, their nobility, their law, their revenue, their army, their navy, their commerce, their arts, and their manufactures. They have done their business for us as rivals in a way which twenty Ramilies or Blenheims could never have done. Were we absolute conquerors, and France to lie prostrate at our feet, we should be ashamed to send a Commission to settle their affairs, which would impose so hard a law upon the French, and so destructive of all their consequence as a nation, as that they had imposed upon themselves.

(2)

1792. 'Reflections on the Revolution in France.'

Formerly your [*the French*] affairs were your own concern only. We felt for them as men; but we

kept aloof from them, because we were not citizens of France. But when we see the model held up to ourselves, we must feel as Englishmen, and feeling, we must provide as Englishmen. Your affairs, in spite of us, are made a part of our interest, so far, at least, as to keep at a distance your panacea, or your plague. If it be a panacea, we do not want it; we know the consequences of unnecessary physic. If it be a plague, it is such a plague that the precautions of the most severe quarantine ought to be established against it.

(D.)

The Republican Enthusiasm of English Poets.

1797. S. T. Coleridge, 'France: An Ode.'

When France in wrath her giant limbs upreared,
And with that oath, which smote air, earth, and sea,
Stamped her strong foot and said she would be free,
Bear witness for me, how I hoped and feared!
With what a joy my lofty gratulation,
  Unawed I sang amid a slavish band;
And when to whelm the disenchanted nation,
  Like fiends embattled by a wizard's wand,
    The monarchs marched in evil day,
    And Britain joined the dire array;
  Though dear her shores and circling ocean,
Though many friendships, many youthful loves,
  Had swol'n the patriot emotion,
And flung a magic light o'er all her hills and groves;
Yet still my voice, unaltered, sang defeat
  To all that braved the tyrant-quelling lance.
And shame too long delayed and vain retreat!

For ne'er, O Liberty! with partial aim
I dimmed thy light, or damped thy holy flame;
But blessed the pæans of delivered France,
And hung my head and wept at Britain's name.

(E.)

Revolutionary Societies in England.

The Times, May 5, 1794.

The *Society for Constitutional Information* held a meeting at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand on Friday last, where toasts of the most seditious tendency were drunk, and sentiments expressed which ought to send the speakers to Botany Bay. The number of seditionists who met on the above occasion amounted to 300 persons, among whom were not to be found above three who possessed an acre of land in this country. They were men, mostly in desperate circumstances, who had everything to gain and nothing to lose by a revolution. They toasted success to the French, sung the *Marseillois treasonable hymn* and *Ça ira*, arraigned the justice of the law that had punished traitors in Scotland, Ireland, and England, and gave the health of those traitors. They abused and vilified the House of Commons, called the Royal Family and the nobility of Great Britain beggars; said it was the interest of the people to join with those struggling in the cause against which our country was fighting. In short, they did everything short of active rebellion.

(F.)

A Satire on the Fashionable Republican Sentiment in England.

George Canning in the *Anti-Jacobin*.

FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

'Needy knife-grinder! whither are you going?
Rough is the road, your wheel is out of order—
Bleak blows the blast;—your hat has got a hole in't,
So have your breeches!

'Weary knife-grinder! little think the proud ones
Who in their coaches roll along the turn-pike-
Road, what hard work 'tis crying all day, "Knives and
Scissors to grind O!"

'Tell me, knife-grinder, how came you to grind knives?
Did some rich man tyrannically use you?
Was it the Squire? or Parson of the Parish?
Or the Attorney?

'Was it the Squire for killing of his game? or
Covetous Parson for his tithes distraining?
Or roguish Lawyer, made you lose your little
All in a law-suit?

'Have you not read the Rights of Man, by Tom Paine?
Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids
Ready to fall, as soon as you have told your
Pitiful story.'

KNIFE-GRINDER.

'Story! God bless you! I have none to tell, sir,
Only last night, a-drinking at the Chequers,
This poor old hat and breeches, as you see, were
Torn in a scuffle.

'Constables came up for to take me into
Custody: they took me before the Justice,
Justice Oldmixon put me in the Parish-
Stocks for a vagrant.

'I should be glad to drink your Honour's health in
A pot of beer if you would give me sixpence;
But for my part, I never love to meddle
With Politics, sir.'

FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

'*I* give you sixpence! I will see thee hanged first!
Wretch whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance—
Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate degraded,
Spiritless outcast!'

(*Kicks the knife-grinder, overturns his wheel, and exit in a transport of republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy.*)

10. The Battle of the Nile.

(A.)

Despatch of Admiral Ganteaume, the French Commander-in-Chief.[1]

1798. Translated from the letter in the British Museum (printed in Yonge's 'History of the British Navy').

At 2 p.m. the vessel *L'Heureux* sighted twelve sail to the W.N.W.; our look-out men perceived them at the same time, and made them out to be sixteen. We quickly recognized these ships to be an English squadron consisting of fourteen sail of the line, and two brigs.

The enemy, as they came up, put on sail for this naval anchorage, having a brig ahead to take soundings. The wind was north, and a fairly fresh breeze.

The brigs *Alceste* and *Le Railleur* were given orders to get under way and sail into the wind to prevent the manœuvring of this scouting ship. The signals to clear for action, to warn the fleet that it would fight at anchor, and to recall the crews to their respective ships, were made at 3 p.m. The sloops which were taking fresh water on board were also recalled; a boat from the *Artémise* was sent off to the beach at Rosetta to warn the transport-ships which were anchored there of the appearance of the enemy; and, last of all, the frigates and corvettes were ordered to send their crews on board the line-of-battle ships.

The enemy continued to approach under sail, after having given a wide berth to the reefs which sur-

[1] Admiral Ganteaume was left in command after the death of Admiral Brueys.

rounded these islands. He kept the wind astern, took in sail, and revealed his intention to attack our fleet. At a quarter to six the battery on the island fired some shells, which fell among the ships at the head of the enemy's line. Shortly before six the Admiral made the signal to engage, and soon afterwards the two vanguards were in action.

Some of the enemy's ships, having suddenly taken in sail, doubled round the head of our line, and casting out their stern anchors they ranged alongside, just clearing our line on the landward side; while the others anchored a pistol-shot off on the other side. By this manœuvre all our ships as far as the *Tonnant* were enveloped.

It seemed to us that two vessels, in carrying out this manœuvre, ran aground; but one of them soon floated off. The attack and the defence were extremely vigorous. All the ships, from the head of the line to the end of it, were taken on both sides. In this confusion, and hidden by a continual cloud of smoke, it was difficult to distinguish the movements of the line. . . . After an hour of the action the Admiral was wounded in the face and in the hand, and on coming down to the poop, he was some time later knocked down and killed on the quarter-deck. Being obliged to continue to fight on both sides, we abandoned our broadside of twelve-pounders, but the others continued their fire with the greatest energy. The *Franklin* and the *Tonnant* appeared to us to be in a position as critical as our own.

The enemy's ships, having sunk the vessels at the head of our line, let themselves drift, dragging their anchors, and took up various positions around us.

We were obliged to pay out cable from the bow several times to meet them with our broadside. . . . The resistance of the 36 and 24 broadsiders was continued hotly, when flames were perceived on the poop following an explosion. We had already had a fire in one of the boats. . . . A hammock and some burning débris had also been thrown overboard. But on this third occasion the fire had made rapid progress in an instant, and amongst other things it burnt up all the wreckage with which the poop was covered. The fire-pumps had been destroyed by bullets. . . .

The order for the after-broadside to cease fire, so that all hands should go and pass water, had been given; but such was the ardour of the men that in the tumult the 36-broadside continued its firing; although all the officers ordered all hands on deck, the fire had in a short time made desperate progress, and we had few means of resisting it.

Our main-mast had gone by the board, and soon we saw no further hope for the ship, the fire having got a hold on the whole quarter-deck, and even the 12-broadside. The captain of the ship and his second-in-command had been wounded some time. Admiral Ganteaume therefore gave the order to abandon the ship.

The fire had broken out at about a quarter to ten, and at half-past ten the vessel blew up. Part of the crew escaped on the wreckage, and others perished on it.

The fight continued all night on the part of the rear-guard, and at dawn we made out that the *Guerrier*, the *Conquérant*, the *Spartiate*, *L'Aquilon*, the *Peuple*

Souverain, and the *Franklin* had struck their flags and surrendered to the enemy. The *Tonnant* was in the rear, quite dismasted, but her flag still flying; the *Heureux* and the *Mercure*, which had run aground, were attacked and forced to strike their flags in the morning. The *Artémise* caught fire at eight in the morning, and the *Sérieuse* was sunk. The *Guillaume Tell*, the *Généreux*, the *Timoléon*, the *Diane*, and the *Justice*, their flags flying, kept up a cannonade with some English ships for part of the morning; but this division, except for the *Timoléon*, got under way at ten or eleven in the morning and made for the open sea. The *Timoléon* ran ashore, and we have since learnt that the captain, after saving all his crew, set fire to this ship on the morning of the 16th, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

Such have been the results of this horrible business, and we have recorded them to the best of our remembrance, since we have been able to keep no log or written note.

(Signed) VICE-ADMIRAL GANTEAUME.

ALEXANDRIA,
18*th Thermidor, Year VI.*

(B.)

An English Account by Captain Berry.

August 1, 1798.

J. K. Laughton's 'Nelson's Letters and Despatches,' p. 151.

The destination of the French armament was involved in doubt and uncertainty; but it forcibly struck the admiral that as it was commanded by the man whom the French had dignified with the title

of the conqueror of Italy, and as he had with him a very large body of troops, an expedition had been planned which the land force might execute without the aid of their fleet should the transports be permitted to make their escape, and reach in safety their place of rendezvous; it therefore became a material consideration with the admiral so to arrange his force as at once to engage the whole attention of their ships of war and at the same time materially to annoy and injure their convoy. It will be fully admitted, from the subsequent information which has been received on the subject, that the ideas of the admiral upon this occasion were perfectly just, and that the plan which he had arranged was the most likely to frustrate the design of the enemy. It is almost unnecessary to explain his projected mode of attack at anchor, as that was minutely and precisely executed in the action which we now come to describe. These plans, however, were formed two months before an opportunity presented itself of executing any of them, and the advantage now was, that they were familiar to the understanding of every captain in the fleet.

It has been already mentioned that we saw the *Pharos* off Alexandria at noon on August 1. The *Alexander* and the *Swiftsure* had been detached ahead on the preceding evening, to reconnoitre the ports of Alexandria, while the main body of the squadron kept in the offing. The enemy's fleet was first discovered by the zealous Captain Hood, who immediately communicated by signal, the number of ships, sixteen, lying at anchor in line of battle, in a bay upon the larboard bow, which we afterwards found

to be Aboukir Bay. The admiral hauled his wind that instant, a movement which was immediately observed and followed by the whole squadron; and at the same time he recalled the *Alexander* and the *Swiftsure*. The wind at this time was N.N.W. and blew what seamen call a top-gallant breeze. It was necessary to take in the royals when we hauled upon wind. The admiral made the signal to prepare for battle and that it was his intention to attack the enemy's van centre, as they lay at anchor, and according to the plan before developed. His idea in this disposition of his force was first to secure the victory and then to make the most of it according to future circumstances. A bower cable of each ship was immediately got out abaft and bent forward. We continued carrying sail and standing in for the enemy's fleet in a close line of battle. As all the officers of our squadron were totally unacquainted with Aboukir Bay, each ship kept sounding as she stood in. The enemy appeared to be moored in a strong and compact line of battle close in with the shore, their line describing an obtuse angle in its form, flanked by numerous gunboats, four frigates and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van. This situation of the enemy seemed to secure to them the most decided advantages as they had nothing to attend to but their artillery, in their superior skill in the use of which the French so much pride themselves and to which indeed their splendid series of land victories are in a great measure to be imputed.

The position of the enemy presented the most formidable obstacles, but the admiral viewed these

with the eye of a seaman determined on attack, and it instantly struck his eager and penetrating mind that where there was room for an enemy's ship to swing there was room for one of ours to anchor. No further signal was necessary than those which had already been made. The admiral's designs were as fully known to his whole squadron as was his determination to conquer or perish in the attempt. The *Goliath* and the *Zealous* had the honour to lead inside and to receive the first fire from the van ships of the enemy as well as from the batteries and gunboats with which their van was strengthened. These two ships with the *Orion*, *Audacious* and *Theseus*, took their stations inside of the enemy's line and were immediately in close action. The *Vanguard* anchored the first on the outer side of the enemy and was opposed within half pistol-shot to *Le Spartiate*, the third in the enemy's line. In standing in our leading ships were unavoidably obliged to receive into their bows the whole fire of the broadsides of the French line, until they could take their respective stations; and it is but justice to observe that the enemy received us with great firmness and deliberation, no colours having been hoisted on either side nor a gun fired till our van ships were within half gunshot. At this time the necessary number of our men were employed aloft in furling sails and on deck in hauling the braces, etc., preparatory to our casting anchor. As soon as this took place a most animated fire was opened from the *Vanguard*, which ship followed. The approach of those in the rear which were following in a straight line, the *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Bellerophon*, *Majestic*, *Swiftsure* and *Alexander* came up in

succession, and passing within hail of the *Vanguard*, took their respective stations opposed to the enemy's line. All our ships anchored by the stern, by which means the British line became inverted from van to rear. Captain Thompson of the *Leander*, of fifty guns, with a degree of skill and intrepidity highly honourable to his professional character, advanced towards the enemy's line on the outside, and most judiciously dropped his anchor athwart hawse of *Le Franklin*, raking her with great success, the shot from the *Leander's* broadside which passed that ship all striking *L'Orient*, the flagship of the French commander-in-chief.

The action commenced at sunset, which was at 6.31 p.m., with an ardour and vigour which it is impossible to describe. At about seven o'clock total darkness had come on, but the whole hemisphere was with intervals illuminated by the fire of the hostile fleets. Our ships, when darkness came on, had all hoisted their distinguishing lights, by a signal from the admiral. The van ship of the enemy, *Le Guerrier*, was dismasted in less than twelve minutes, and in ten minutes after the second ship, *Le Conquérant*, and the third, *Le Spartiate*, very nearly at the same moment were also dismasted . . . *L'Aquilon* and *Le Peuple Souverain*, the fourth and fifth ships of the enemy's line, were taken possession of by the British at half-past eight in the evening. Captain Berry at that hour sent Lieutenant Galway of the *Vanguard* with a party of marines to take possession of *Le Spartiate*, and that officer returned by the boat the French captain's sword, which Captain Berry immediately delivered to the admiral, who was then

below in consequence of the severe wound which he had received in his head during the heat of the attack. At this time it appeared that victory had already declared itself in our favour, for although *L'Orient*, *L'Heureux*, and *Le Tonnant* were not taken possession of they were considered as completely in our power, which pleasing intelligence Captain Berry had likewise the satisfaction of communicating in person to the admiral.

At ten minutes after nine a fire was observed on board *L'Orient*, the French admiral's ship, which seemed to proceed from the after part of the cabin, and which increased with great rapidity, presently involving the whole of the after part of the ship in flames. This circumstance Captain Berry immediately communicated to the admiral who, though suffering severely from his wound, came up on deck, where the first consideration that struck his mind was concern for the danger of so many lives, to save as many as possible of whom he ordered Captain Berry to make every practicable exertion. A boat, the only one that could swim, was instantly despatched from the *Vanguard*, and other ships that were in a condition to do so immediately followed the example; by which means from the best possible information the lives of about seventy Frenchmen were saved. The light thrown by the fire of *L'Orient* upon the surrounding objects enabled us to observe with more certainty the situation of the two fleets, the colours of both being clearly distinguishable. The cannonading was partially kept up to leeward of the centre till about ten o'clock, when *L'Orient* blew up with a most tremendous explosion. An

awful pause and death-like silence for about three minutes ensued, when the wreck of the masts, yards, etc., which had been carried to a vast height fell down into the water and on board the surrounding ships. A port fire from *L'Orient* fell into the main royal of the *Alexander*, the fire occasioned by which was however extinguished in about two minutes by the active exertions of Captain Bell.

After this awful scene the firing was recommenced, with the ships to leeward of the centre, till twenty minutes past ten, when there was a total cessation of firing for about ten minutes; after which it was revived till about three in the morning, when it again ceased.

11. The Peace of Amiens, 1802.

Pitt's views on the Peace, and England's Policy towards Napoleon.

Malmesbury, 'Diaries,' iv. 65.

He [*Pitt*] owned that he had, when the preliminaries were signed, thought that Buonaparte had satisfied his insatiable ambition, and would rest contented with the power and reputation he had acquired —that, however, all that had passed since went to convince him he had been in error, and that the electing himself President of the Italian Republic, the attainment of Louisiana, the two Floridas, and the Island of Elba, left no doubt on his mind that he was, and ever would remain, the same rapacious, insatiable plunderer, with as little good faith as he formerly found him to have. . . . But still, he did

not regret having spoken in favour of the Peace; it was become a *necessary* measure; and rest for England, however short, was desirable; that . . . everything should bear the aspect of war; that we should appear warlike in our provincial measures, warlike in our diplomatic ones, and, above all, warlike in our military and naval establishments, so that it might be made *evident to Buonaparte that England will submit to no insult or suffer any injury*. . . . He explained farther by saying, 'The torpid and disgraceful state of public spirit in all the great European Courts puts it, I fear, out of our means to prevent Buonaparte's attempts to encroach or aggrandize himself on the Continent . . .; but any attempt on his part to contest, attack, or molest our commercial or colonial interests, made directly on our rights and possessions, or through the rights and possessions of others, would, in his mind, call upon us for *immediate resistance*, and not only be a justifiable, but an indispensable, cause for war. . . .' Pitt then enlarged on the pecuniary resources of the country, and said with confidence, 'that a very few years of peace would be fully sufficient to enable England to go on (if provoked to it) with many years of war, and that, during this period, it was not indulging an unlikely hope that some one of the great Continental Powers might awake to a due sense of its honour and interests; and that in a future contest we might derive from some part of Europe, at least, that aid and co-operation it was out of the question to look for or expect at this moment.'

12. The Pilot that Weathered the Storm.

1802. By George Canning (from the *Anti-Jacobin*).

If hushed the loud whirlwind that ruffled the deep,
The sky, if no longer loud tempests deform;
When our perils are past,[1] shall our gratitude sleep?
No! Here's to the Pilot that weathered the storm!

At the footstool of Power let flattery fawn.
Let faction her idols extol to the skies;
To Virtue, in humble retirement withdrawn,
Unblamed may the merits of gratitude rise.

And shall not his memory to Britain be dear,
Whose example with envy all nations behold;
A Statesman unbias'd by int'rest or fear,
By power uncorrupted, untainted by gold?

Who when terror and doubt through the universe reigned,
While rapine and treason their standards unfurled,
The heart and the hopes of his country maintained,
And one kingdom preserved midst the wreck of the world.

Lo! Pitt, when the course of thy greatness is o'er,
Thy talents, thy virtues, we fondly recall!
Now justly we prize thee, when lost we deplore;
Admired in thy zenith, but lov'd in thy fall.

[1] The Peace of Amiens was signed in this year.

And oh! if again the rude whirlwind should rise!
The dawning of peace should fresh darkness deform,
The regrets of the good, and the fears of the wise,
Shall turn to the Pilot that weathered the storm.

13. Character of C. J. Fox.

1800. Wraxall, 'Memoirs,' ii. 251.

If ever an Individual existed in this country, who, from his natural Bias, would have inclined to maintain in their fullest extent all the just Prerogatives of the Crown, and who would have restrained within due limits every attempt on the part of the People to diminish its Constitutional Influence; we may assert that Fox was the man. The principles of his early Education; the Example and Exhortations of his Father; his first political connections;—all led him to the Foot of the Throne. . . . Nor, whatever moral disapprobation his private irregularities unquestionably excited in the breast of a Sovereign, whose whole Life was exempt from any breach of decency or decorum; could those defects of conduct have formed any insurmountable impediment to his attainment of the highest Employments. . . . Fox's Error arose principally from a different source. In the ardor of political opposition, stimulated perhaps by domestic wants of many kinds, finding himself so long excluded from office, and conscious that he was become personally obnoxious to the Sovereign, not so much from his irregularities, as by embracing the cause and the defence of the King's revolted subjects beyond the Atlantic, Fox did not always

confine himself within a Constitutional and temperate resistance to the measures of the Crown. Mingling the spirit of Faction with the Principles of Party, while he appeared only to attack the Minister, he levelled many of his severest Insinuations or Accusations at the King. He consequently obstructed the attainment of the object which lay within his grasp. . . .

Amidst the wildest excesses of youth, even while he was the perpetual victim of his passion for play, his elegant mind eagerly cultivated at intervals a taste for Letters. His Education had made him early acquainted with the writers of Greece and Rome, historical as well as philosophical and poetical. The beautiful passages of Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Cicero, which were familiar to him, seemed always to present themselves to his memory without an effort. When speaking in Parliament, he knew how to avail himself of their assistance, or to convert them to his purpose with a promptitude and facility that it is difficult to imagine. Burke himself was not his superior on this point. So well had he been grounded in classic knowledge, that he could read the Greek, no less than the Roman, Historians as well as Poets, in the original; and however extraordinary the fact may appear, he found resources in the perusal of their works, under the most severe depressions occasioned by ill-success at the gaming-table. . . . Mr. Fox was not only conversant with the works of Antiquity; Modern History, polite letters, and Poetry were equally familiar to him. . . . Fox conversed in French, nearly with the same purity and facility as he did in English; writing in that language not

less correctly, nor with less elegance. A man of his high birth and connexions, possessing qualifications so rare, independent of his parliamentary abilities, seemed to be pointed out by Nature for the superintendence of the Foreign Department of State. . . . It is for impartial posterity to determine whether, on full examination of his merits and defects, George III. may be considered as most deserving of Approbation or of Blame, in never having, at any period of his reign, voluntarily called Mr. Fox to his Counsels. If energy of mind, enlargement of views, firmness of character, amenity of manners, acquaintance with Foreign Courts and languages, facility in conducting business, and prodigious intellectual powers;—if these endowments are considered as forming an incontestable claim to public employment, unsustained by correct moral deportment or by property; we must condemn the sentence of exclusion passed on him. Those persons, on the other hand, who consider all talent, however eminent, as radically defective unless sustained by decorum and a regard for opinion; as well as all who prefer sobriety of conduct, regularity of manners, and the virtues of private life, above any Ability which Nature can bestow on man; lastly, all who regard judgment, under controul of strict principle, as the most indispensable requisite of a Minister—such persons will probably hesitate . . . before they decide on the censure which the King's conduct towards Fox ought to excite in our minds.

14. Ireland.

(A.)

(1)

Wolfe Tone, 'Autobiography,' i. 51.

To subvert the tyranny of our execrable Government, to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter—these were my means. . . .

We formed our club . . . and certainly the formation of that club commenced a new epoch in the politics of Ireland.

(2)

The United Irishmen.

From the publications of the Society, December 30, 1791.

The object of this institution is to make an united society of the Irish nation; to make all Irishmen citizens; all citizens, Irishmen; nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more seasonable, than that those who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, should know each other and should act together. . . . Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from

our thoughts those in which we differ. If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this respect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same.

(B.)

The Orangemen—A Public Appeal.

To the Loyal Subjects of Ireland.

Quoted in Musgrave, 'Rebellions in Ireland' (London, 1801).

From the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their King and Constitution, and to maintain the laws :

We, the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen . . . have long observed with indignation the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom by the seditious, who have formed themselves into societies, under the specious name of United Irishmen.

We have seen with pain the lower orders of our fellow-subjects forced or seduced from their allegiance by the threats and machinations of traitors.

And we have viewed with horror the successful exertions of miscreants to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence on the downfall of their country.

We therefore thought it high time to rally round the Constitution, and there pledge ourselves to each other to maintain the laws, and support our good King against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or their country ; and, by so doing, show to the world that there is a body of men in the island

who are ready, in the hour of danger, to stand forward in the defence of that grand palladium of our liberties, the Constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by the courage and loyalty of our ancestors under the great King William.

(C.)

The Corruption by which the Union was secured.

(1)

The Marquis Cornwallis to Major-General Ross.

'Cornwallis Correspondence,' iii. 100 (London, 1859).

PHŒNIX PARK,
May 20, 1799.

. . . The political jobbery of this country gets the better of me; it has ever been the wish of my life to avoid all this dirty business, and I am now involved in it beyond all bearing, and am consequently more wretched than ever. . . . How I long to kick those whom my public duty obliges me to court! . . . No man, I am sure, ever experienced a more wretched existence; and, after all, I doubt whether it is possible to save the country. . . .

(2)

The Marquis Cornwallis to Major-General Ross.

'Cornwallis Correspondence,' iii. 102.

PHŒNIX PARK,
June 8, 1799.

DEAR ROSS,

. . . The country is becoming every day more quiet, but the ferocity of the loyalists will not, for a long time, permit the restoration of perfect tran-

quillity. My occupation is now of the most unpleasant nature—negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work, and am supported only by the reflection that without an Union the British Empire must be dissolved.

(3)

The Marquis Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

'Cornwallis Correspondence,' iii. 113.

DUBLIN CASTLE,
July 8, 1799.

MY LORD,

. . . It was privately intimated to me that the sentiments of the Archbishop of Cashel were less unfriendly to the Union than they had been, on which I took an opportunity of conversing with his Grace on the subject, and after discussing some preliminary topics respecting the representation of the spiritual lords and the probable vacancy of the See of Dublin, he declared his great unwillingness at all times to oppose the measures of Government . . . and concluded by a cordial declaration of friendship.

(D.)

Corrupt Measures of Anti-Unionists.

The Marquis Cornwallis to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

'Cornwallis Correspondence,' iii. 183.

DUBLIN CASTLE,
February 8, 1800.

Our situation is critical; twelve of our supporters deserted to the enemy over the last division, one

was bought during the debate. The enemy, to my certain knowledge, offer five thousand pounds ready money for a vote. . . . How it will end, God only knows! I think there are not more than four or five of our people that can be either bought off or intimidated, but there is no answering for the courage or integrity of our Senators. . . .

(E.)

The Act of Union with Ireland, 1800.

An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

Statutes of the Realm.

Whereas in pursuance of His Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two Houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the two kingdoms, the two Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain, and the two Houses of the Parliament of Ireland . . . respectively have agreed upon certain articles for effectuating and establishing the said purposes in the tenor following:

ARTICLE FIRST. . . . That the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall for ever after be united into one kingdom, by the name of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. . . .

ARTICLE THIRD. . . . That the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament. . . .

ARTICLE FOURTH. . . . That four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight

lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and 100 Commoners . . . be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons. . . .

ARTICLE FIFTH[1]. . . . That the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called, The United Church of England and Ireland; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united Church shall be . . . as the same are now by law established for the Church of England. . . .

ARTICLE SIXTH. . . . That His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall . . . be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all parts and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies. . . .

ARTICLE SEVENTH. . . . That the charge arising from the payment of interest, and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except . . . that for the space of twenty years after the Union . . . the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom in each year shall be defrayed in

[1] This article was repealed by the Irish Church Disestablishment Act of 1869.

the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland. . . .

ARTICLE EIGHTH. . . . That all laws . . . and all courts of civil . . . jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations . . . from time to time as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require. . . .

(F.)

The Irish Question after the Union—Catholic Emancipation.

(1)

From a Memorandum by Lord Castlereagh.

It is obvious that the government of Ireland has difficulties incidental to it, which will require a much greater proportion of Ministerial attention than Scotland did subsequently to the Union. Scotland at that day was thinly inhabited, the people poor and industrious, and of habits so peculiarly regular that, with the exception of the two rebellions which sprang from a feeling of attachment to the exiled family, it may be said to have almost governed itself. Ireland, on the contrary, is highly populous, acquires wealth more rapidly than civilization; it is inhabited by Dissenters from the Establishment, split into factions, and these factions committed against each other with all the rancour of past injuries as well as present distinctions. The law is imperfectly obeyed, and very

ill-administered by the magistrates, who are too frequently partisans rather than judges. In short, the tranquillity of the country is alone preserved, even in the degree in which it exists, by the perpetual intervention of the hand of Government exercising the most summary powers. Gradually to correct these evils will require the persevering attention of a firm and impartial Government. The Union has removed a great impediment to a better system; but the Union will do little in itself, unless it be followed up. In addition to the steady application of authority in support of the laws, I look to the measure which is the subject of the above observations [*the Catholic Emancipation Bill*] to an arrangement of tithes, and to a provision for the Catholic and Dissenting clergy . . . to bring them under the influence of the State, as essentially necessary to mitigate, if it cannot extinguish, faction, to place the Established Church on its most secure foundation, and to give the necessary authority, as well as stability, to the Government itself.

15. The Resignation of Pitt over Catholic Emancipation.

Malmesbury, 'Diaries,' iv. 1.

February 1, 1801.—It had long been in contemplation as a necessary measure in the minds of many of those who brought about the Union with Ireland to establish a new Test Law here, and to do away with many of the restrictions now imposed on the Catholics there. The idea was to substitute an oath, binding those who took it to an allegiance to the King and

Constitution, instead of a Sacramental Test; and this would, in effect (as it was to extend to Great Britain), enable Catholics to sit in Parliament, hold offices, etc.

Mr. Pitt, either from indolence, or from perhaps not paying always a sufficient and due attention to the King's pleasure, neglected to mention *ministerially* to His Majesty that such a measure was in agitation till he came at once with it for his approbation. . . . The King at the Levee on Wednesday, the 28th January, the day after the measure was communicated to him by Pitt, intimated to Wyndham [*Secretary at War*] that 'he should consider any person who voted for it as personally indisposed towards him.'

February 7.—Ministers determined to resign—profess doing it in perfect good humour—and declare that the Government shall have their full and unqualified support on every other measure but this, which necessitates their resignation, and on which they can come to *no compromise*. . . .

It looks to me as if Pitt was playing a very selfish, and in the present state of affairs, a very criminal part; that he goes out to show his own strength, and under the certain expectation of being soon called upon again to govern the country with uncontrolled power.

February 10.—The resignation now publicly known. . . . The new Administration treated with great derision, and even slight, in both Houses.

February 23, 1801.—Heard in the House of the King's being ill in the old way from Thursday evening; yet next evening so well as to attend council. . . .

At the Levee on Wednesday, the 28th of January, the King said to Dundas, 'What is this that this young Lord has brought over, which they are going to throw at my head? . . . [*i.e., the proposals for Catholic Emancipation*]. Lord C. [*Castlereagh*] came over with the plan in September. . . . I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes any such measure. The most Jacobinical thing I ever heard of. . . .' 'You'll find,' said Dundas, 'among those who are friendly to that measure, some you never supposed your enemies.'

16. The Trafalgar Campaign.

(A.)

Nelson's Letters from the Mediterranean.

J. K. Laughton, 'Nelson's Letters and Despatches' (Longmans).

(1)

To the Duke of Clarence.

Off Toulon,
July 5, 1803.

It is very difficult to say what are the plans of Bonaparte; he is assembling a very large army in Italy, and has already placed 13,000 men in the Kingdom of Naples. The Morea, and ultimately Egypt, are in his view; therefore his assembling so many troops in Italy—they say full 80,000—can only be for the purpose of moving them across the Adriatic. With this idea I fully expect that the French Fleet from Brest will assuredly come into the Mediter-

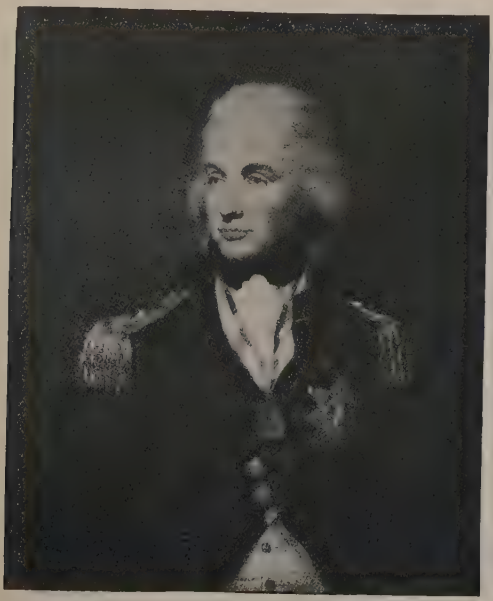
ranean to protect this army across the water. . . . We must keep a good look-out both here and off Brest.

(2)

To Dr. Baird.

OFF TOULON,
August, 1803.

The fleet is healthy; but the last ships out, although they came to sea wretches, are generally



HORATIO, VISCOUNT NELSON (1758-1805).
From the painting by Lemuel Francis Abbott in the National Portrait Gallery.

making in the most healthy condition. They are in best humour, which is a great conducer to

health. . . . I am sure, from the high opinion which I entertain of your judgment, that whatever regulations you have recommended will be of great use. The health of our seamen is invaluable, and to purchase that no expense ought to be spared.

(3)

To A. Davison.

September 27, 1803.

We are healthy beyond example, and in great good humour with ourselves; and so sharp-set, that I would not be a French Admiral in the way of any of our ships for something. I believe we are in the right fighting trim, let them come as soon as they please. I never saw a fleet altogether so well officered and manned. Would to God the ships were half as good, but they are what we call crazy.

(4)

To Sir A. J. Ball.

November 7, 1803.

Our two last reconnoitrings: Toulon has eight sail of the line, apparently ready for sea, five or six frigates, and as many corvettes; they count twenty-two sail of ships of war; a seventy-four is repairing. Whether they intend waiting for her, I can't tell, but I expect them every hour to put to sea; but their destination—is it Ireland, or the Levant? That is what I want to know. However, out they will come, and I trust we shall meet them.

(5)

Off Toulon,
April 8, 1804.

We are on the eve of great events. Last week, at different times, two sail of the line put their heads outside Toulon; and on Thursday, the 5th, in the afternoon, they all came out. . . . If we go on playing out and in, we shall, some day, get at them.

(6)

February 11, 1805.

On the 17th [*January*] they came out of Toulon with gentle breezes at N.N.W., and lay between Giens and the Hières Islands till the gale set in on the 18th in the afternoon. Had they been bound to Naples, it would have been better for them to have gone to the eastward, along their own coast, in fine weather, with friendly ports open to them. If Cagliari was their object, their fleet ran the risk of a battle, and the event, I fancy, they hardly doubt.

[*Then followed the hunt for the French fleet, first in Egypt and afterwards in the West Indies.*]

(B.)

Napoleon's Plans from his Despatches.

D. A. Bingham, 'The Letters and Despatches of Napoleon.'

(1)

June 9, 1805.

If England is aware of the serious game she is playing, she will raise the blockade of Brest; but I know not, in truth, what kind of precaution will pro-

tect her from the terrible chance she runs. A nation is very foolish, when it has no fortifications and no army, to lay itself open to seeing an army of 100,000 veteran troops land on its shores. This is the masterpiece of the flotilla! It costs a great deal of money, but it is necessary for us to be masters of the sea for six hours only, and England will have ceased to exist. There is not a fisherman, not a miserable journalist, not a woman at her toilette, who does not know that it is impossible to prevent a light squadron appearing before Boulogne.

[*Meanwhile Villeneuve returned from the West Indies, met Calder off Ferrol, and fought an indecisive action, after which he put into Ferrol to refit.*]

(2)

Napoleon to Villeneuve.

August 13, 1805.

The English are not so numerous as you appear to think. If you can appear here [*Boulogne*] for three days, or even for twenty-four hours, you will have fulfilled your mission. Send a special courier to Ganteaume to inform him that you have sailed. Never for so great an object will a squadron have run risks, and never will my land and sea forces be able to shed their blood for a greater and more noble cause. In order to favour the invasion of that Power, which for the last ten centuries has oppressed France, we could all die without regretting life. These are the sentiments which ought to animate you and all my soldiers. . . .

NAPOLEON.

(3)

Napoleon to Vice-Admiral Decrès.

CAMP OF BOULOGNE,
August 13, 1805.

With thirty vessels my Admirals ought not to be afraid of twenty-four English ships, or else we must give up the idea of having a navy. . . . If Villeneuve remains at Ferrol beyond the 16th I shall consider him the last of men. According to the news from London, Nelson is still far away. If Villeneuve sails with his thirty vessels he will be sure of forming a junction with Allemand. Nelson and Collingwood are *hors de combat;* likewise the squadrons of Cochrane and of India; there are twelve vessels at Texel. . . .

NAPOLEON.

(4)

Napoleon to Talleyrand.

BOULOGNE,
August 23, 1805.

My squadron sailed from Ferrol on the 14th August —thirty-four vessels; there was no enemy in sight. If it follows my instructions it will effect its junction with the Brest squadron and enter the Channel; there will yet be time; I shall be master of England. If, on the contrary, my Admirals hesitate, if they manœuvre badly and do not fulfil their mission, I shall be obliged to wait for the winter. . . .

NAPOLEON.

(5)

About August 30, 1805.

I wished to assemble forty or fifty ships of the line at Martinique by means of combined operations, cause them to return suddenly to Boulogne, remain for a fortnight master of the sea, have 150,000 men and 10,000 horses encamped on the coast, a flotilla of 3,000 or 4,000 craft, and on the arrival of my squadron disembark in England and seize upon London and the Thames. This plan has failed. If Admiral Villeneuve, instead of putting into Ferrol, had been satisfied with forming a junction with the Spanish Fleet, and had sailed for Brest and united himself with Ganteaume, my army would have disembarked, and it would have been all over with England.

(6)

MALMAISON,
September 4, 1805.

The Admiral [*Villeneuve*] has filled the measure to overflowing. On leaving Vigo he ordered Captain Allemand to Brest, and informed you of his intention of going to Cadiz. This is certainly treason. . . . Villeneuve is a wretch who must be dismissed with ignominy. Devoid of the power of co-operation and of courage, he would sacrifice everything in order to save his skin. . . . After this I am obliged to consider Missiessy as a hero.

(C.)

Nelson's Relations with his Captains.

[*The plan for attacking the enemy was drawn up by Nelson and laid by him before his principal officers. He describes it and its reception as follows*]:

(1)

To Lady Hamilton.

'VICTORY,'
September 30, 1805.

I believe my arrival was most welcome, not only to the Commander of the fleet, but also to every individual in it; and when I came to explain to them the 'Nelson touch,' it was like an electric shock. Some shed tears; all approved. 'It was new—it was singular—it was simple!' and from Admiral downwards it was repeated: 'It must succeed, if ever they will allow us to get at them!'

(2)

To Vice-Admiral Collingwood.

'VICTORY,'
October 9, 1805.

I send you my Plan of Attack, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in. But, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give you full scope for your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll, have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view—that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious Peace for our

Country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you; and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

(D.)

The Plan of Attack for Trafalgar.

[*The 'plan for attacking the enemy' referred to in the previous extracts.*]

'VICTORY,'
OFF CADIZ,
October 9, 1805.

Thinking it almost impossible to bring a fleet of forty sail of the line into a line of battle in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would probably be lost of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive, I have therefore made up my mind to keep the fleet in that position of sailing, that the order of sailing is to be the order of battle, placing the fleet in two lines of sixteen ships each, with an Advanced Squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two-decked ships, which will always make, if wanted, a line of twenty-four sail, on whichever line the Commander-in-Chief may direct.

The Second-in-Command will, after my intentions are made to him, have the entire direction of this line, to make the attack upon the enemy, and to follow up the blow until they are captured or destroyed.

If the enemy's fleet should be seen to windward in line of battle, and that the two lines and the Advanced Squadron can fetch them, they will probably be extended that their Van could not succour their Rear.

I should therefore probably make a Second-in-Command's signal to lead through, about their twelfth ship from their Rear; my line could lead through about their Centre, and the Advanced Squadron to cut two or three or four ships ahead of their Centre, so as to ensure getting at their Commander-in-Chief, on whom every effort must be made to capture.

The whole impression of the British fleet must be to overpower from two or three ships ahead of their Commander-in-Chief, supposed to be in the Centre, to the rear of their fleet. I will suppose twenty sail of the enemy's line to be untouched. It must be some time before they perform a manœuvre to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British fleet engaged, or to succour their own ships, which indeed would be impossible without mixing with the ships engaged.

Something must be left to chance; nothing is sure in a sea fight beyond all others. Shot will carry away the masts and yards of friends as well as foes; but I look with confidence to a victory before the Van of the enemy could succour their Rear, and then that the British fleet would most of them be ready to receive their twenty sail of the line, or to pursue them, should they endeavour to make off.

If the Van of the enemy tacks, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British fleet; if the enemy wears, the British must place themselves between the enemy and the captured and disabled British ships; and should the enemy close, I have no fears as to the result.

The Second-in-Command will in all possible things

direct the movements of his line by keeping them as compact as the nature of the circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular line as their rallying point. But in case signals can neither be seen, or perfectly understood, no Captain can do very wrong if he places his Ship alongside that of an Enemy. . . .

The divisions of the British fleet will be brought nearly within gunshot of the enemy's centre. The signal will most probably then be made for the lee line to bear up together, to set all their sails, even steering sails, in order to get as quickly as possible to the enemy's line, and to cut through, beginning from the twelfth ship from the enemy's Rear. Some ships may not get through their exact place, but they will always be at hand to assist their friends; and if any are thrown round the rear of the enemy, they will effectually complete the business of twelve sail of the enemy. . . .

The remainder of the enemy's fleet, 34 Sail, are to be left to the management of the Commander-in-Chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the Second-in-Command are as little interrupted as is possible.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

(E.)

The Last Entry in Nelson's Private Diary.

Monday, October 21, 1805.

At daylight saw the Enemy's Combined Fleet from East to E.S.E.; bore away; made the signal for Order of Sailing and to Prepare for Battle. The

H.M.S. "VICTORY," 1805.

Enemy with their heads to the southward. At seven the Enemy wearing in succession.

May the Great God, whom I worship, grant to my Country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious Victory; and may no misconduct in anyone tarnish it; and may humanity after Victory be the predominant feature in the British Fleet. For myself individually, I commit my life to Him who made me, and may His blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my Country faithfully. To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen. Amen. Amen.

(F.)

The Battle of Trafalgar.

Despatch of Vice-Admiral Collingwood.

October 22, 1805.

The ever-to-be-lamented death of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that on the 19th instant it was communicated to the Commander-in-Chief from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz, that the combined fleet had put to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Straits' entrance with the British Squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his lordship was informed by Captain Blackwood that they had not yet passed the Straits.

On Monday, the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered about six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west and very light. The Commander-in-Chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy's line consisted of thirty-three ships (of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish), commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve; the Spaniards, under the direction of Gravina, wore with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with closeness and correctness; but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new—it formed a crescent convexing to leeward—so that in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam. Before the fire opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared when on their beam to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the *Bucentaure* in the centre, and the *Prince of Asturias* bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

As the mode of attack had been previously determined on and communicated to the flag-officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were

made except to direct close order as the lines bore down.

The Commander-in-Chief in the *Victory* led the weather column, and the *Royal Sovereign*, which bore my flag, the lee.

The action began at twelve o'clock by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line, the Commander-in-Chief about the tenth ship from the van, the Second-in-Command about the twelfth ship from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. The conflict was severe. The enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers, but the attack on them was irresistible; and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant His Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About 3 p.m. many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way. Admiral Gravina, with ten ships, joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the south to windward of the British line were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to His Majesty's Squadron nineteen ships of the line with three flag-officers [*including Admiral Villeneuve*].

Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British Navy and the British nation, in the fall of the Commander-in-Chief, the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal and his

memory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years' intimacy and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection—a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought. His Lordship received a musket-ball in his left breast about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me immediately with his last farewell, and soon after expired. . . .

(G.)

The News of Trafalgar, 1805.

Malmesbury, 'Diaries,' iv. 341.

On the 7th November the news of the great naval victory off Cape Trafalgar, and of the death of Nelson, arrived. . . . The first impression was not joy, for Nelson fell! The hero, who was regretted with all the tenderness of gratitude, and all the more selfish feeling that a bulwark of England was gone, and that this circumstance would be equivalent to Buonaparte for the loss of his fleet.

He added to genius, valour, and energy, the singular power of electrifying all within his atmosphere, and making them only minor constellations to this most luminous planet. The confidence he inspired in his followers, and the terror of his name to our enemies, are what make his loss an irreparable one. . . . Collingwood's letter, which is admirable, proves that it was his art to make all under him

love him, and own his superiority without a ray of jealousy. He never was a *party man* himself, and there never was a party in his fleets. All were governed by *one mind*, and this made them invincible.

17. The Press-Gang.

(1)

From *The Times*, May, 1803.

On Sunday afternoon two gallies, each having an officer and press-gang in it, in endeavouring to impress some persons at Hungerford Stairs, were resisted by a party of coal-heavers belonging to a wharf adjoining, who assailed them with coals and glass-bottles; several of the gang were cut in a most shocking manner on their heads and legs. . . . The impress on Saturday, both above and below Bridge, was the hottest there has been for some time; the boats belonging to the ship at Deptford were particularly active, and it is supposed they obtained upwards of two hundred men, who were regulated on board the *Enterprize* till late at night and sent in the different tenders to the Nore, to be put on board such ships whose crews are not completed. . . . The impressed men, for whom there was not room on board the *Enterprize* on Saturday, were put into the Tower and the gates shut, to prevent any of them effecting their escape.

(2)

John Wesley's Journal, July, 1759.

In the evening I began near Stockton market-place as usual. I had hardly finished the hymn when

I observed the people in great confusion, which was occasioned by a Lieutenant of a man-of-war, who had chosen that time to bring his press-gang, and ordered them to take Joseph Jones and William Alwood. Joseph Jones telling him, 'Sir, I belong to Mr. Wesley,' after a few words he let him go; as he did likewise William Alwood after a few hours, understanding he was a licensed preacher. He likewise seized upon a young man of the town, but the women rescued him by main strength. They also broke the Lieutenant's head; and so stoned both him and his men that they ran away with all speed.

18. The Orders in Council, 1807.

Order of Council relative to the Commerce of Neutral Nations with the Ports of France.

Printed in the 'Annual Register,' 1807, p. 267.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 7th January, 1807: Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas the French Government has issued certain orders which, in violation of the Usages of War, purport to prohibit the Commerce of all neutral nations with His Majesty's Dominions; and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country, in any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of His Majesty's Dominions; and whereas the said Government has also taken upon itself to declare all His Majesty's Dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and

her allies are themselves confined within their own ports by the superior valour and discipline of the British Navy; and whereas such attempts on the part of the enemy would give to His Majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and would warrant His Majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that Power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of His Majesty's subjects, a prohibition which the superiority of His Majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy with numerous squadrons and cruisers, so as to make the entrance or approach thereto manifestly dangerous; and whereas His Majesty, though unwilling to follow the examples of his enemies, by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade, yet feels himself bound, by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people, not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without taking some steps on his part to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice;

His Majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to, or be in the possession of, France or her allies, or shall be so far under their control, as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat; and the Commanders of His Majesty's ships of war and privateers shall be, and are hereby instructed, to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and

destined to another such port, to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and any vessel, after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this His Majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and, together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize. . . .

W. Fawkener.

19. Causes of the War between England and America.

The Times, February 27, 1811.

We have heard, and from most respectable authority, that the long-protracted negotiations between this country and America are drawing to a conclusion the reverse of what might be wished.

On Saturday the Marquis Wellesley gave a definite answer to certain categorical questions put by the American Minister on the chief points in dispute, the purport of which answer we understand to be, that His Britannic Majesty would not consent to abandon his right to search American vessels for British seamen; nor to modify or alter the existing system of blockade; nor to withdraw the Orders in Council till the Berlin and Milan Decrees were substantially rescinded.

20. Wellington's Despatch after Waterloo, 1815.

To the Earl Bathurst.

Waterloo.
June 19, 1815.

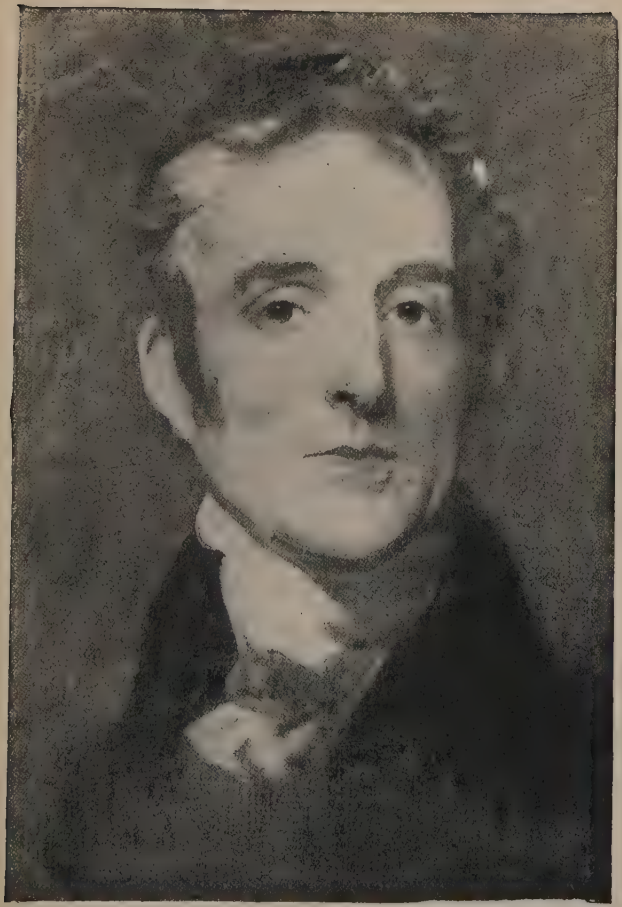
My Lord,

Buonaparte advanced on the 15th and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobbes on the Sambre at daylight in the morning. I did not hear of these events till in the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march; and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and Marshal Prince Blücher concentrated the Prussian Army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny. . . . In the meantime I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras; and the 5th division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blücher with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2nd corps, and a corps of cavalry under General Kellermann, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian Army [*at Ligny*] maintained their



Rischgitz Collection.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON (1769-1842).

From the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. [1769-1830], *in Apsley House.*

position with their usual gallantry and perseverance against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bülow, had not joined; and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also [*at Quatre Bras*], and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery. He made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. . . . Our loss was great as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret His Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blücher had maintained his position at Sombref [*Ligny*], he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and as the 4th corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back and to concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo, the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The position which I took up in front of Waterloo crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles,

and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and gardens of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blücher at Wavre, through Ohain; and the Marshal had promised me that, in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the 3rd corps [*under Grouchy*], which had been sent to observe Marshal Blücher, on a range of heights in our front in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning, and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's Brigade of Guards . . . and I am happy to add that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the German Legion, which occupied it,

had expended all its ammunition; and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful; and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge. . . . These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bülow's corps upon Planchenois and La Belle Alliance had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blücher had joined in person with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his positions on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blücher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night. He has sent me word this morning that he had taken

sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggages, etc., belonging to Buonaparte in Genappe.

I propose to move this morning upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations. . . .

I should not do justice to my own feelings or to Marshal Blücher and the Prussian Army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them. The operation of General Bülow upon the enemy's flank was a most decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded. . . .

WELLINGTON.

21. THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1815.

Printed in 'Annual Register,' 1815.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity,

The Allied Powers having by their united efforts, and by the success of their arms, preserved France and Europe from the convulsions with which they were menaced by the late enterprise of Napoleon Buonaparte, and by the revolutionary system reproduced in France to promote its success; participating at present with His Most Christian Majesty in the desire to consolidate the order of things in France, as also in the object of restoring between

France and her neighbours those relations of reciprocal confidence and goodwill, which the fatal effects of the revolutions and of the system of conquest had for so long a time disturbed; persuaded at the same time that this last object can only be obtained by an arrangement framed to secure to the Allies proper indemnities for the past, and solid guarantees for the future, have signed the following articles:

ARTICLE I.—The frontiers of France shall be the same as they were in the year 1790.

ARTICLE II.—The fortresses, places, and districts, which, according to the preceding article, are no longer to form part of the French territory, shall be placed at the disposal of the Allied Powers. . . .

ARTICLE IV.—The pecuniary part of the indemnity to be furnished by France to the Allied Powers is fixed at the sum of seven hundred millions of francs. . . .

ARTICLE V.—The state of uneasiness and of fermentation which, after so many convulsions, and particularly after the last catastrophe, France must still experience, notwithstanding the paternal intentions of her King, requiring certain measures of precaution and of temporary guarantee, it has been judged indispensable to occupy, during a fixed time, by a corps of allied troops, certain military positions along the frontiers of France. . . .

ARTICLE VI.—The foreign troops, not forming part of the army of occupation, shall evacuate the French territory within the term fixed. . . .

ARTICLE VII.—In all countries which shall change Sovereigns . . . a period of six years shall be allowed

to the inhabitants, natives or foreigners, to dispose of their property, if they should think fit to do so, and to retire to whatever country they may choose. . . .

ARTICLE XI.—The Treaty of Paris, 1814, and the final Act of the Congress of Vienna of the 9th of June, 1813, are confirmed and shall be maintained. . . .

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(Signed)

(L.S.) CASTLEREAGH.
(L.S.) WELLINGTON.
(L.S.) RICHELIEU.

22. INDUSTRIAL UNREST AFTER THE WAR.

Preface to 'Annual Register,' 1816.

By the sudden failure of the war demand for a vast variety of articles, which was not compensated as yet by the recovery of any peace market, foreign or domestic, thousands of artisans were thrown out of employment, and reduced to a state of extreme want and penury. A detestable spirit of conspiracy, which manifested itself in the early part of the year in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, directed against houses, barns, and rick-yards, which were devoted to the flames, was probably the result of a want of agricultural employment joined to the love of plunder. But the distressing

scenes which afterwards took place amongst the colliers of Staffordshire, and the attempts made by the assembled workmen of the iron manufacturing districts of South Wales to stop by force the working of the forges, arose from the causes above referred to. In general, however, the workmen conducted themselves without violence, and received with gratitude the contributions made for their relief.

The general sense of suffering found vent throughout the country in meetings called for the purpose of discussing the causes and remedies of these evils, and petitions for redress of grievances, for economy, and for Parliamentary reform, poured in from all sides.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS

1763 — 1815

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

(*a*) American Independence.

1763. Bute resigns office, and is succeeded by **George Grenville.**

Wilkes, a Member of Parliament, is prosecuted for libel by the Government, and arrested on a general warrant (*i.e.*, a warrant not made out against any named person). In the following year he is expelled from Parliament, but in 1768 and 1769 he is returned by Middlesex four times, but not allowed to take his seat.

1764. **Hargreaves** invents the spinning-jenny.

1765. The American **Stamp Act** is passed, by which the colonists have to pay so much on legal documents, the payment being represented by a stamp.

Watt applies the steam-engine to industrial purposes.

1766. **Repeal of the Stamp Act** by Lord **Rockingham**, Grenville's successor, who soon gives way to Pitt, now **Earl of Chatham.**

1767. Certain American imports are taxed by the Government.

Brindley's Canal between Manchester and Liverpool is opened. It is followed by many others, and is thus of the greatest importance in helping on the **Industrial Revolution** by which England becomes a manufacturing rather than an agricultural country.

The colonists protest against the import duties, and soldiers are sent to America.

1768. Chatham resigns owing to ill-health.
Arkwright invents the spinning machine.

1769. The **Letters of Junius**, criticising the King and Government, begin to appear.

1770. The American **import duties**, except that on tea, **repealed by Lord North**. The troops are recalled.

1771. The right to publish parliamentary debates is contested by the House of Commons, but is allowed, although regarded as a breach of privilege.

1773. Lord North's **Regulation of India Act** creates a supreme council of five members and makes **Warren Hastings** Governor-General.
The **Boston Tea-party**; the cargoes of three tea-ships emptied into Boston Harbour.

1774. Boston's harbour closed and the Charter of Massachusetts altered. Congress held at Philadelphia of all the colonies except Georgia denies the right of taxation put forward and decides to break off commercial dealings with Great Britain.

1775. Chatham's proposals for reconciliation with the colonies are rejected in favour of North's coercive measures.
The colonists, after the skirmish at **Lexington**, appointed **Washington** Commander-in-Chief. Shortly afterwards they are defeated at **Bunker's Hill**.

1776. The colonies issue their **Declaration of Independence.**
Earlier in the year the British had evacuated Boston, but later they occupy New York, and Washington has to retreat into Pennsylvania; at the end of the year he cuts off some German mercenaries at **Trenton**.

1777. Colonists defeated at **Brandywine**; **Philadelphia** occupied by the British. Washington's army goes into winter quarters at **Valley Forge**, not far from Philadelphia. Elsewhere the colonists are more successful, compelling Burgoyne to capitulate at **Saratoga**.

1778. France sends help to the colonists, and the British forces concentrate on New York to meet the in vasion.
Death of Chatham.

1779. Spain joins France against England.

1780. **Rodney's** victory over the Spanish off Cape **St. Vincent**,

In America the British conquer S. Carolina and capture Charlestown.

Removal of many restrictions on Irish trade.

The **Gordon Riots** against the removal of Catholic disabilities.

Hyder Ali of Mysore, an ally of the French, invades the Carnatic.

1781. **Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.**

Hyder Ali is defeated at **Porto Novo.**

1782. **Rodney** gains a great victory over the French Fleet in the West Indies.

Peace is made with the colonies, and their **independence recognised.**

Grattan secures legislative independence for the Irish Parliament.

1783. **Peace of Versailles** ends the war with France and Spain by declaring the independence of the colonies and arranging for the retention of Gibraltar by England, the restoration of Pondicherry to France, and the cession of Florida and Minorca to Spain.

(*b*) Pitt and the French Revolution.

Fox's India Bill, for transferring the authority of the East India Company to the Crown, is passed by the Commons, but owing to the King's influence is rejected by the Lords.

William Pitt becomes **Prime Minister**, although he is constantly defeated by the opposition under **Fox.**

1784. A new Parliament gives Pitt a majority, and he carries his India Bill, which creates an outside **Board of Control** to manage the affairs of the Company—an arrangement which lasted till 1858.

1785. Pitt brings in a parliamentary **Reform Bill**, but is
1786. defeated; he makes, however, a **Commercial Treaty with France**, which removes many trade restrictions.

1788. **Impeachment of Warren Hastings** by the Commons, acting chiefly through Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, for misrule in India.

[The trial lasted till 1795, and ended in an acquittal of Hastings.]

1789. The King going mad, a dispute arises as to the Regency; Fox maintains the right of the Prince of Wales without parliamentary interference, while Pitt holds that Parliament alone has the right to appoint; but the King recovers early in the following year.
Resolutions condemning the slave trade are proposed in Parliament by **Wilberforce**, and supported by Fox and Burke.
Beginning of the **French Revolution**. In England it is **denounced by Burke** and **supported by Fox**.

1791. The influence of the French Revolution in England is shown by the riots at Birmingham and elsewhere.
Several Catholic disabilities are removed by Parliament.
Canada is divided into Upper (English) and Lower (French) Canada, and each province is given a Government, whose members are largely nominated by the Crown.
Wolfe Tone founds the **United Irishmen** to secure Catholic emancipation.

1792. Revolutionary excesses in France lead to war with Austria and Prussia.

1793. **Execution of Louis XVI**. The French Republic declares **war against England**, who, together with Spain and Holland, joins Austria and Prussia in the **First Coalition** against France. Great military successes of France.
The Irish Parliament grants Catholics the franchise.

1794. The **Glorious First of June**, Howe's great naval victory over the French off Ushant. England gains several other victories at sea, but the French are successful on land.

1795. **End of the Coalition**; most of the other members make peace with France, and **Spain and Holland declare war against England**.
Cape of Good Hope captured from the Dutch.
In England sympathy with the French leads to the suspension of Habeas Corpus and the passing of laws against treason and sedition.

1796. General **Hoche** attempts to invade **Ireland**, but his fleet is dispersed by storms. There had been negotiations between Irish leaders and France.
Ceylon captured from the Dutch.

1797. English naval victories at **Cape St. Vincent** (Jervis) over the French, and at **Camperdown** (Duncan) over the Dutch.
Mutinies in the English fleet at **Spithead** and at the **Nore**; the mutinies were caused by too severe discipline, too little wages, and disputes about prize money.

1798. **Nelson** wins the **Battle of the Nile**, destroying the fleet which had taken Buonaparte to Egypt.
Irish Rebellion under Lord Edward Fitzgerald is suppressed at **Vinegar Hill**. A **French force surrenders at Longford**.

1799. Napoleon is foiled at **Acre** by **Sir Sidney Smith**.
Pitt forms the **Second Coalition** with Austria and Russia against Napoleon, now First Consul. Sir Ralph Abercrombie secures the surrender of the Dutch fleet, but an expedition to Holland under the Duke of York fails.

1800. **Malta** is captured by the English, but the Austrians are defeated at **Marengo** and **Hohenlinden**.
The Northern Powers (Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia) form the **Armed Neutrality** against England's claim to search neutral ships.
Union of England and Ireland gives 4 spiritual peers, 28 temporal life peers, and 100 commoners to the Imperial Parliament, and also removes restrictions on Irish trade.

1801. **Resignation of Pitt**, owing to the King's refusal to accept his proposals for Catholic emancipation.
Abercrombie defeats the French at Alexandria.
Nelson's victory of **Copenhagen** destroys the Armed Neutrality.

1802. **Treaty of Amiens**, by which England surrenders all conquests except Trinidad and Ceylon.
Sir Robert Peel gets the **First Factory Act** passed.

1803. War breaks out again.
Emmett's insurrection in Ireland.

1804. **Pitt returns to office.**
Napoleon (elected Emperor this year) prepares to invade England, and forms a huge camp at Boulogne for that purpose.
Spain declares war against England.

1805. Formation of the **Third Coalition** (England, Russia, Sweden, and Austria). It is practically destroyed by Napoleon at **Austerlitz**.

Battle of Trafalgar. The French and Spanish fleets are destroyed, but **Nelson** is **killed**.

1806. **Death of Pitt**, and later of **Fox**.

Ministry of All the Talents (a coalition formed by Fox and Grenville, a former follower of Pitt) **abolishes the Slave Trade** in the next year.

After his victory over Prussia at **Jena**, Napoleon issues his **Berlin Decrees**, by which the British Isles are declared to be in a state of blockade, all trade between France or French allies and England is prohibited, and all English property in France or any allied country is confiscated.

1807. By way of reply the British Government issues the **Orders in Council**, declaring that all vessels trading with a French or allied port are liable to capture. The chief result of the Orders is friction, and subsequent war with the United States.

Napoleon concludes the **Treaty of Tilsit** with Russia and Prussia. The whole of Europe is divided into spheres of French and Russian influence.

1808. Beginning of the **Peninsular War**; **Wellesley** (afterwards Wellington) is sent to support the national Spanish rising against their new King, Joseph Buonaparte, and wins the battle of **Vimeiro**. The French, by the **Convention of Cintra**, evacuate Portugal.

1809. **Sir John Moore**, retreating from an expedition into Spain, defeats Soult at **Corunna**, and is killed in the battle; but the army embarks in safety.

Wellesley defeats the French at **Talavera**, but has to retreat to the fortified lines of **Torres Vedras**.

Meanwhile Napoleon crushes the Austrians at **Wagram**, while the British **Walcheren Expedition** to take Antwerp, and so divert the French from Austria, proves an utter failure.

1810. In the Peninsula **Wellington** captures **Ciudad Rodrigo** and **Almeida**, defeats Massena at **Busaco**, and makes

him retire from the position he had taken up before the lines of Torres Vedras.

1811. Wellington again defeats Massena at **Fuentes de Onoro**, and Beresford beats Soult at **Albuera**. British retreat before the combined armies of Soult and Marmont.
The Prince of Wales becomes Regent.
Luddite (machine-breaking) **riots** in the Midlands.

1812. Wellington storms **Ciudad Rodrigo** and **Badajos**, which had been captured by the French, wins **Salamanca**, and **enters Madrid**; however, he has to retreat again before the French on Ciudad Rodrigo.
Napoleon's **Russian campaign** ends in disaster.
The **United States declare war with England**, owing to the Orders in Council, which are revoked in this year.

1813. Wellington defeats the French at **Vittoria**, and at the **Battle of the Pyrenees**.
In Germany the **War of Liberation** begins, and, in spite of several victories, Napoleon is eventually defeated at **Leipzig**, in the **Battle of the Nations**.

1814. Wellington invades France, and defeats Soult at the **Battle of Toulouse**, but ten days earlier **Napoleon** had **abdicated** and retired to Elba.
The **First Peace of Paris** restores Louis XVIII., restores Holland to the House of Orange, declares Swiss independence, and refers a final settlement to the **Congress of Vienna**. [Most of the British conquests are restored.] Peace with the United States.

1815. Napoleon returns to France, is welcomed with enthusiasm, and defeats the Prussians at **Ligny**; but Wellington defeats Ney at **Quatre Bras**, and two days later with Blücher finally defeats Napoleon at **Waterloo**. **Napoleon is exiled to St. Helena**, and the **Second Peace of Paris** settles the French frontiers and exacts a large indemnity.

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